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**FORGOTTEN FACTS
OF IRISH HISTORY**

JOHN ROCHE ARDILL, LL.D.

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FORGOTTEN FACTS OF IRISH HISTORY

BY

JOHN ROCHE ARDILL, LL.D.

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INTRODUCTORY.

LOVE of one's country is generally accompanied by a knowledge of its history.

In Ireland, where this love prevails to an exceptional degree, we might expect to find an intimacy with Irish history exceptionally wide-spread and accurate.

This expectation is all the more reasonable because of the existence of bitter religious and political strife concerning, chiefly, wrongs and tyrannies alleged to have been inflicted in the past.

Nations, or communities, no matter how bad their motives may be, do not, as a rule, engage in warlike conflict until they have carefully inquired into the subjects concerning which their disputes have arisen.

To this rule the treatment which Irish history has received forms a remarkable and painful exception.

The animosities for which the country is notorious are almost wholly the outcome of events within the last seven hundred years, that is, during English rule in Ireland; yet the history of the greater part of that period is, to the masses of the Irish people, a sealed book.

Close on four hundred years elapsed from the Conquest to the Reformation, and during that long period the relations between the two sections of the inhabitants attained to a clear and well-defined character—the English despising and crushing the

Irish and Anglo-Irish, and these, in return, hating and rebelling against the English.

It is needless to say that the ideas, customs, social and racial controversies and party divisions which, in the progress of time, had become habitual—and “habit is second nature”—could, in no case, be easily and hastily rooted out. Those national characteristics which had been given four centuries to spring up and gain strength must continue to exert their influence for good or evil until, perhaps, four additional centuries have expired.

No unprejudiced critic will refuse to admit that up to the present time Ireland continues to reap from the seeds which her rulers scattered with a lavish hand during the first four hundred years after she had come under external control.

A remarkable feature of the case is, that during that period all parties who had to do with Ireland—both the rulers and the ruled—were, in religion, under the sole and continuous authority of the Roman Catholic Church, and it will scarcely be denied that the political power of that Church was never so great in Ireland—or, perhaps, in any part of the world except Italy—as during that time.

On the other hand Ireland during her later history, that is, since the Reformation, has been governed by rulers who were in constant protest against some essential parts of the Roman Catholic Creed, and, consequently, hostile to that Church.

It is, therefore, manifestly unfair to judge the history of Ireland under Protestant rule without giving close attention to her history under Roman rule. Protestants must have been largely the reapers of what Roman Catholics were the sowers.

Yet it is a fact that modern critics are as oblivious

to Roman Catholic rule in Ireland, both as regards its character and its results, as if they had entered into a conspiracy of silence in this respect.

It is no uncommon thing to find writers and speakers in the present day uttering declamatory censures on "the cruel oppression" and "the terrific persecution" which Irish Roman Catholics have suffered under Protestant rulers, while, at the same time, no thought whatever is given to the kind of religious and political legacy which these rulers inherited from predecessors who, during four centuries, had impressed upon social and public life in Ireland a stamp—a character—which, in the very nature of things, it would, under the most favourable conditions, take some further centuries to undo.

My object in writing the following pages is to call attention to the partial, one-sided and sectarian treatment which popular Irish history has received, and to the misunderstandings which have arisen therefrom, with the hope that, in the time to come, this deeply important subject may attract, from the ranks especially of the Irish people, an ever-increasing number of searchers after "the whole Truth."

JOHN ROCHE ARDILL.

SLIGO, *August*, 1905.

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FORGOTTEN FACTS OF IRISH HISTORY.

I.

THE COMPLAINT OF THE IRISH PRINCES, A.D. 1318.

The invasion of Ireland by Edward Bruce in the year 1315 A.D. has left to us one of the most important documents in Irish history, namely, the Complaint of the Irish Princes to Pope John XXII. *Pope John and the Irish.*

The existence of this document is unknown to many persons in Ireland, while the majority of those who have heard of it have erroneous ideas as to its contents and meaning.

Thomas Moore, the poet and historian, gives a clear statement of the events which called it forth. "The Pope," writes Moore, "in consequence of a complaint made to him by Edward II. of England, of the rebellious spirit manifested in Ireland, as well by the clergy as by the laity, had addressed a strong letter to the chief Irish Prelates empowering them to launch the censures of the Church against all those, whether lay or ecclesiastical, who were guilty of disaffection to the ruling powers. This interposition in aid of the views of their haughty oppressors [the English] was felt the more keenly by the Irish Chieftains as coming from a quarter to which the ancient fame of their country for sanctity and learning

might well have encouraged them to look for sympathy and support. In the warmth of this feeling a memorable remonstrance was addressed to the Pope by O'Neill, Prince of Tyrone, speaking as the representative of his brother Chiefs and the whole Irish nation."*

A loud imploring cry.

The Complaint opens with the usual polite salutation—"To our most holy Father in Christ, the Lord John, by the grace of God, supreme Pontiff, his attached children, Donald O'Neill, King of Ulster, and rightful hereditary successor to the throne of all Ireland, as well as the Princes and Nobles of the same realm, with the Irish people in general, present their humble salutations, approaching with kisses of devout homage to his sacred feet."

Lest "the bitter and venomous attacks of the English" should influence the Pope's mind they lay before him "with loud imploring cry" the treatment they had received, and also an account of their descent from Milesius, the Spaniard, through a line of 136 Kings who ruled in Ireland until the time of Leoghaire [Larry], "in whose days," they state, "our chief Apostle and Patron, St. Patrick, commissioned by your predecessor, Pope Celestine, according to the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, became in A.D. 435 a missionary to our forefathers, and was most successful in his efforts to instruct them in the truths of the Catholic faith."

From this quotation it is evident that in the fourteenth century the belief was generally held in Ireland that St. Patrick was commissioned by the Pope.†

* History of Ireland, Vol. III., p. 71.

† There are differences of opinion as to whether St. Patrick came from Rome or not, but a full discussion of that question is outside my limit. I insert the statement of the Princes as I am anxious to convey the full sense of the document.

From St. Patrick's mission until 1170 sixty-one Kings had inherited the Irish throne, acknowledging no superior in things temporal, and by whom the Irish Church was endowed. "At length," say the Princes, "your predecessor, Pope Adrian, an Englishman—although not so completely in his origin as in his feelings and connections—in the year of our Lord, 1170, upon the representation, false and full of iniquity, which was made to him by Henry, King of England—the monarch under whom, and perhaps at whose instigation, St. Thomas, of Canterbury, in the same year, suffered death, as you are aware, in defence of Justice and of the Church—made over the dominion of this realm of ours in a certain set form of words to that Prince, whom, for the crime here mentioned, he ought rather to have been deprived of his own kingdom; presenting him *de facto* with what he had no right to bestow, while the question touching the justice of the proceeding was utterly disregarded, Anglican prejudices, lamentable to say, blinding the vision of that eminent Pontiff. And thus despoiling us of our royal honour, without any offence of ours, he handed us over to be lacerated by teeth more cruel than those of any wild beasts. For, ever since the time when the English, upon occasion of the grant aforesaid, and under the mask of a sort of outward sanctity and religion, made their unprincipled aggression upon the territories of our realm, they have been endeavouring, with all their might, and with every art which perfidy could employ, completely to exterminate, and utterly to eradicate our people from the country . . . and have compelled us to repair, in the hope of saving our lives, to mountainous, woody and swampy and

*Ireland
handed over
to King
Henry II.*

barren spots, and to the caves of the rocks also, and in these, like beasts, to take up our dwelling for a length of time."

The Princes enclosed a copy of Pope Adrian's Bull, along with their Complaint, to Pope John, which Bull the latter Pope forwarded to King Edward, together with certain comments which we shall presently consider.

*Hatching a
plot.*

The part which the Church of Rome has taken, not only in the bringing of Ireland under English rule in the first instance, but in the maintenance of that rule, has never been understood by the Irish people in general.

Dr. Lanigan, whose history of Ireland is expensive and scarce, says of Pope Adrian that "love of his country, his wish to gratify Henry, and some other not very becoming reasons, prevailed over every other consideration, and the condescending Pope, with great cheerfulness and alacrity, took upon himself to make over to Henry all Ireland, and got a letter, or Bull, drawn up to that effect and directed to him, in which, among other queer things, he wishes him success in his undertaking, and expresses the hope that it will conduce, not only to his glory in this world, but likewise to his eternal happiness in the next."*

Adrian's old master was one Marianus, an Irishman, for whom he had great regard, yet, says Dr. Lanigan, "he was concerned in hatching a plot against that good man's country, and in laying the foundation of the destruction of the independence of Ireland."†

This is strong language from an Irish Roman Catholic clergyman, who enjoys the fullest confidence

* Eccles. Hist. of Ireland, Vol. IV., p. 159.

† *Ib.*, p. 158.

of his country, with regard to a former Pope, and it must be remembered that the statement was not made in a platform speech, when momentary excitement might impel a speaker into the use of words which he would afterwards regret, but that it was calmly and deliberately penned in the quietness of the study, and, probably, read and re-read, and finally corrected, before it was committed to print.

The Rev. M. J. Brennan, O.S.F., who is not at all so unprejudiced as Dr. Lanigan, states that "Adrian, anxious for the aggrandisement of his country," or, as Cardinal Pole expresses it, "induced by the love of his country, lost no time in complying with the agent's request."* The agent referred to was John of Salisbury, who had been sent by King Henry in 1155 to ask for the Pope's sanction for the invasion of Ireland, and who states that the invasion was delayed until 1171 by the restraining influence of the King's mother, the Empress Matilda. With this statement Dr. Lanigan agrees.†

It is a mistake to suppose that the Conquest of Ireland is due to the appeal made in 1168 by Dermot MacMurrough for King Henry's aid. That event merely afforded to the King and the Pope a convenient excuse for carrying out a long-determined plan.

Attempts have been made on various grounds *Patched up stories.* to justify Pope Adrian's action. Edmund Campion, the famous English Jesuit, alleges that the Spanish ancestors of the Irish were subject "376 years ere

* Eccles. Hist. of Ireland, Vol. I., p. 305.

† It is interesting to notice that the Bull was issued in the year 1155, that is sixteen years before the invasion took place. This was one of the earliest transactions in the Popedom of Adrian and the Kingship of Henry, as it was only in December of the previous year, 1154, they were elevated to their respective thrones. In 1155 the proposal to seize Ireland was considered at the Parliament of Winchester. (King's Eccles. History of Ireland, p. 492).

Christ was born" to one Gurguntius, from whom King Henry was descended, and that, consequently, the Pope only helped to restore to Henry his rightful authority.* But this notion is too far-fetched to deserve consideration.

A more plausible excuse is, that about a century previous to the Conquest the Irish handed over to the Pope of that time—Urban II.—the sovereignty of this country. This theory was advocated by an Italian writer, and also by the Rev. Geoffrey Keatinge, D.D.

But a still more popular excuse is, that all the Christian Islands of the Ocean were conferred on the Popes by the first Christian Emperor, Constantine.

Dr. Lanigan brushes aside all these fanciful ideas with one sweep. "This nonsense," he says, "of the Pope's being the head owner of all Christian Islands had been partially announced to the world in a Bull of Urban II., dated 1091, in which, on disposing of the Island of Corsica, he said that the Emperor Constantine had given the Islands to St. Peter and his vicars. But Constantine could not give what did not belong to him, and, accordingly, as Keatinge argues, could not have transferred the sovereignty of Ireland to any Pope."†

As to Keatinge's own idea, namely, that the Irish had transferred their crown to the Pope, Dr. Lanigan writes: "Neither in any of the Irish annals, nor in the ecclesiastical documents of those times, whether Roman or Irish, is there a trace to be found of a transfer of Ireland to Urban II., or to any Pope, by either the Irish Kings or Irish nobility, although the sly Italian, Polydore Virgil, who has been followed

* History of Ireland, p. 71.

† Eccles. Hist. of Ireland, Vol. IV., p. 160.

by two Englishmen, Campion and Sanders [both Jesuits], and also by some Irish writers, has told some big lies on this subject. These stories were patched up in spite of Chronology, or of any authority whatsoever, and Keatinge swallowed them as he did many others.”*

But the really powerful contention on which Pope Adrian's Bull was defended is that pointed to by the Princes in their reference to “the mask of a sort of outward sanctity and religion” under which the invaders gained their purpose. *The Irish, not men but beasts.*

For if it were true that, as regards the territories of their realm, the Irish were “lacerated by teeth more cruel than those of any wild beasts,” it was doubly true of the treatment they received as regards their *character*. It would be difficult to imagine a people on whose land the light of the Gospel had never shone being in a more godless and depraved condition than the Irish were, before the Conquest, according to the general witness of both the English and Roman writers of the time. To speak of Ireland before the Conquest as an “Island of Savages” would be more in harmony with the opinion of these writers than to speak of it as an “Island of Saints.” The great St. Bernard of Clairvaux, in his life of St. Malachy, Archbishop of Armagh, says of him that “when he began to perform the duties of his office then the man of God came to understand that he had been destined not to men but to beasts! Nowhere had he yet experienced such people, so shameless as to manner, so savage (*ferales*) as to rites, so impious as to faith, so barbarous as to laws, so stiff-necked as to discipline, so filthy as to life.” But, owing to the zealous

* *Ib.*, p. 161.

labours of Malachy, we are told by Bernard that "their hardness ceased, their barbarism was stilled, the barbaric laws were done away with, the Romans were introduced everywhere, the customs of the Church were received, and those contrary to them were rejected. Churches were rebuilt and clergy were ordained in them."* St. Malachy, of whom he wrote, died only twenty-three years before the Conquest.†

*Widening the
boundaries of
the Church.*

Pope Adrian in his Bull uses terms which agree with those of St. Bernard. "Your Highness is contemplating the laudable and profitable work of gaining a glorious fame on earth and augmenting the recompense of bliss that awaits you in heaven by turning your thoughts in the proper spirit of a Catholic prince to widening the boundaries of the Church, explaining the true Christian faith to those ignorant and uncivilized tribes, and exterminating the nurseries of vices from the garden of the Lord." (See Appendix A).

Pope Alexander III., in his Bull confirming that of his predecessor Adrian, likewise applauds the undertaking of King Henry to conquer Ireland "to the end that the filthy practices of that land may be abolished, and the barbarous nation, which is called by the Christian name, may, through your clemency [that is, King Henry's], attain unto some decency of manners."‡ (See Appendix B). This Bull

* Robertson Hist. of Christian Church, Vol. V., p. 266.

† The first Irish Christian whose name was admitted to the Roman Calendar of Saints was Malachy of Armagh, canonized in the twelfth century.

‡ Irishmen in the twentieth century are keenly sensitive to criticisms which are not flattering to the national character, especially if they come from a Protestant source, but it should not be forgotten that at a time subsequent to the saintliest period in the nation's history the language quoted was used by two Popes, and by a Saint of greater eminence than almost any occupant of the Papal Chair.

is the more remarkable because it was written immediately after the murder of St. Thomas à Becket in his cathedral at Canterbury, at the instigation of King Henry.

On the last-mentioned Bull Dr. Lanigan writes thus:—"Alexander wishes that, on eradicating the dirty practices in Ireland, the nation may, through Henry's exertions, become polished, and its Church brought into better form. He seems to have known nothing of the state of the Irish Church except what he heard from the enemies of Ireland, and, as to ecclesiastical, or other dirt, I believe he might in those times have found enough of it, and I fear more, nearer home, without looking for it in this country."* †

* Eccles. Hist. of Ireland, Vol. IV., p. 223.

† It is customary with both English and Roman writers to speak thus of the Irish at the period of the Conquest. Froude states that "the Irish, when the Normans took charge of them, were, with the exception of the clergy, scarcely better than a mob of armed savages. . . . To such a people, needing bit and bridle, liberty was only mischievous."—Vol. I., p. 15. Another English historian (Wright) gave a more elaborate account of barbarities alleged to have been prevalent in Ireland at the time of the Conquest, but omitted from his survey the equally unsatisfactory state of England and other countries. The Rev. Robert King, who wrote in a Londonderry Parsonage, and who is one of the ablest Protestant writers on Irish Church history, admits that the Danish wars had greatly injured the state of civilization in Ireland, but, with a severity in which he seldom indulges, he describes Wright's statements as "a tissue of reckless and mischievous misrepresentations . . . altogether unworthy of a respectable and intelligent writer, and one deserving the reprobation of every well-minded and honest individual."—p. 1441.

Edmund Campion, the English Jesuit, who lived in the sixteenth century, writes in the same contemptuous strain of the character of the Irish. "I found a fragment of an epistle," he states, "wherein a virtuous monk declares that to him, travelling in Ulster, came a grave gentleman, about Easter, desirous to be confessed and housled [communicated] who, in all his lifetime, had never yet received the blessed sacrament. When he had said his mind the priest demanded of him whether he were faultless in the sin of homicide. He answered that he never wist the matter to be heinous before, but being instructed thereof he confessed to the murder of five, the rest he left

Polygamy.

Dr. Lanigan displays a justifiable anger in refuting the grave and grossly exaggerated charges so freely advanced against the character of the Irish people. Writing of the charge of Polygamy, he says, "The first English writer who, so far as I can discover, advanced this falsehood, is John Brompton, Abbot of Iornal, a Cistersian Monastery in the Diocese, formerly of York and afterwards of Chester. He seems to go so far as to say that the Irish used to marry even their sisters. Yet, perhaps, the block-head meant in his bad Latin, by *germanas*, not sisters but cousins-german."*

'Tis true that Pope Adrian, who was an Englishman, does not make this charge of polygamy, but Pope Alexander, who was a Sicilian, did not hesitate to put it in its most objectionable form in his letter to King Henry (Appendix C), while in his letter to the Bishops (Appendix D) he is more mild, and that to the Irish nobles is couched in milder terms still. (Appendix E).

*Intriguing
secrecy.*

Pope Adrian's Bull, although in King Henry's possession on his visit to Ireland in 1171, was not read until the Synod of Waterford in 1175. The Rev. Matthew Kelly, of Maynooth, accounts for this delay

wounded so as he knew not whether they lived or no. Then he was taught that both the one and the other were execrable, and very meekly humbled himself to repentance."

Campion also states that "in some corners of the land they use a damnable superstition, leaving the right arms of their infant males unchristened (as they term it) to the intent it might give a more ungracious and deadly blow." But lest anyone should suppose that the Conquest did not achieve some of the good moral results which Popes Adrian and Alexander had designed for it, he warns the readers of earlier histories against confounding times and manners then so different from those of his own days, "that it may appear how much Ireland is beholding [indebted] to God for suffering them to be conquered, whereby many enormities were cured, and more might be, would themselves be pliable."—History of Ireland, p. 15.

* Eccles. Hist. of Ireland, Vol. IV., p. 213.

on the ground of "Henry's well-known character; his unwillingness to receive from the Church anything he could win by the sword."* Dr. Lanigan's explanation is that "he thought it unadvisable to announce it publicly. He knew that, not only the whole drift of it, but likewise certain unfounded aspersions contained in it, would have caused great irritation among both the clergy and laity. But now, owing to the precarious state of his power over Ireland, he found himself obliged to recur to the Papal authority."†

But if these unfounded aspersions were calculated to irritate the clergy, the letter of Pope Alexander to the Bishops (Appendix D) should have had that effect. Possibly they were irritated, but they concealed their feelings. As to the laity, King shows that "on this occasion, contrary to the old constitutions of the Great Councils of Ireland, the laity were, for the first time, excluded from a share in the deliberations in which they had a special concern. If any laymen were present at the Synod of Cashel (1172) they must have been only some of the 'Commissioners of our lord the King.'" Indeed, with regard not only to it, but all the proceedings connected with it, "there seems observable a kind of intriguing secrecy not altogether consistent with honest and open integrity of purpose."‡

The delay in publicly announcing the contents of Adrian's Bull was one of the grounds on which a Galway writer in the seventeenth century, the Rev. Dr. Lynch, asserted the document to be a forgery. "The man must either have no conscience," he writes, "or not be in his right senses, who would

An indiscreet statement.

* Cambrensis Eversus, Vol. II., p. 440.

† Vol. IV., p. 222.

‡ History of Holy Catholic Church in Ireland, p. 531.

hand over the Government of such a people to a foreign prince on the sole ground of reforming their morals.”* This indiscreet statement is contained in a Latin work which has been translated and edited for the Celtic Society by the Rev. Matthew Kelly, who had to discharge the painful task of refuting his author’s assertions, and proving “the undoubted authenticity of Adrian’s letter.”†

Lanigan’s remark on this point is that “Adrian’s Bull is of so unwarrantable and unjustifiable a nature that some writers could not bring themselves to believe that he issued it, and have endeavoured to prove it a forgery, but their efforts were of no avail, and never did there exist a more real or authentic document. It was, however, kept secret until a convenient time should occur for taking advantage of it.”‡

Another of Dr. Lynch’s arguments is that the Bull is not included in a volume of similar documents published by the authorities at Rome.§ On this Lanigan remarks, “It has not, indeed, been published in the Bullarium Romanum, the editors of which were ashamed of it.”||

The Rev. M. J. Brennan and A. M. Sullivan agree with Dr. Lanigan and the Rev. Matthew Kelly. The same applies to Thomas Moore, Dr. Keatinge, and the Rev. Dr. O’Conor, of Roscommon.

As to the part taken by the Irish bishops and clergy in the introduction of Roman and English authority, we have ample evidence.

* Cambrensis Eversus, Vol. II., p. 431.

† *Ib.*, p. 439.

‡ Vol. IV., p. 164.

§ Lynch admits, quite frankly, that subsequent Popes confirmed the possession of Ireland to the English crown. The latest instance was in the reign of Queen Mary.

|| Vol. IV., p. 165.

St. Bernard expressly states in his life of Malachy of Armagh that "Roman laws and ecclesiastical customs were introduced by him into his native country." Also, that "he established in all churches the apostolical constitutions and the decrees of the holy fathers, and especially the customs of the holy Roman Church."*

Dr. Lanigan observes that "the exertions of Gilbert, Bishop of Limerick [who was the first Papal Legate ever appointed in Ireland], had paved the way for setting aside the old Irish Liturgies, etc.,† but St. Malachy's authority and influence contributed much more to the establishment of the Roman practices." "The Apostolic Legates, of whom there was a constant succession in Ireland during that century, undoubtedly took care to introduce and enforce the practices of the Roman System."‡

According to Campion, "the clergy having lately perused the Pope's Bull, wherein he entitleth Henry Lord of Ireland, and under strait pains commandeth allegiance unto him, busily repressed the fury of their countrymen" and "denounced curse and excommunication to any that would maliciously gainsay or frustrate the same."§

* Warren's Celtic Liturgy, p. 10.

† Gilbert, in the prologue to a book, "De Usu Ecclesiastico," addressed the clergy of Ireland thus: "At the request and also at the command of many of you, most dearly beloved, I have endeavoured to set down in writing the canonical custom of saying the hours and performing the office of the whole ecclesiastical order, not presumptuously, but desiring to serve your most godly command in order that those divers and schismatical orders with which nearly all Ireland has been deluded may give place to one Catholic and Roman office." (Warren, p. 10). The allusion to "divers and schismatical orders" refers to the custom which existed of each Bishop having a special liturgy for use in the churches under his own jurisdiction. These liturgies differed only in points of minor importance.

‡ Vol. IV., p. 368.

§ Hist. of Ireland, p. 64.

Moore, writing of the action of the clergy during the whole of King Henry's reign, states that, "as in the subjection of England to the Normans the native clergy were found to be useful instruments, so, in those parts of Ireland beyond the English boundary, the influence of the clergy was Henry's chief support."* †

*The Irish
Church
anglicised.*

The Synod of Cashel, held in 1172, decreed "that all Divine Service in the Church of Ireland shall be kept, used and observed in the like order and manner as in the Church of England . . . for whatsoever good thing is befallen the Church and realm of Ireland, either concerning religion or peaceable government, they owe the same to the King of England, and are to be thankful to him for the same, for before his coming into the land of Ireland many and all sorts of wickedness in times past followed and reigned among them, all which now, by his authority and goodness, are abolished."

The Church of St. Patrick had previously taken an honourable part in evangelizing Britain and the Continent, but at various points came into collision with the Roman Missionaries pressing northward, and always insisted of the validity and piety of her own doctrines and customs as compared with those lately come from Rome, whereas in Ireland such prelates as St. Laurence O'Toole of Dublin, Donagh

* Vol. II., p. 288.

† Froude writes of Ireland at the Conquest thus: "Ireland, the last of the three countries of which England's interest demanded the annexation, was, by nature, better furnished than either of them (*i.e.*, Wales or Scotland) with means to resist her approaches. Instead of a narrow river for a frontier she had seventy miles of a dangerous sea. She had a territory more difficult to penetrate and a population greatly more numerous. The courage of the Irish was undisputed. . . . Could Ireland have fought as Scotland she would have been mistress of her own destinies." (Bk. I., p. 10.) True. But neither Scotland nor Wales was sold by her religious guides for a penny a house!

of Cashel, and Catholicus of Tuam, who were all present at the Synod of Cashel,* quietly permitted the work, and almost the very existence, of the Celtic Church to be ignored, and subscribed to the most abject flattery of King Henry, who is credited with the conversion of a nation, a work which only the Grace of God can accomplish.

In the words of Popes Adrian and Alexander, King Henry was an "Illustrious," "Pious," "Mighty," "Magnificent," "Triumphant," "Serene," "Powerful," "Royal," "Dearly Beloved," "Catholic" son and prince, who, "pressed by the voice of Divine Inspiration," was roused to effect, by a junction of his magnificent land and sea forces, the subjugation of the savage and uncivilized Irish people, and to exterminate from amongst them the abominable filthiness wherein they wandered, with unbridled licentiousness, into every downward course of crime; for which magnificent and astonishing triumph the Papal heart rejoiced exceedingly, and besought the Almighty Lord, in votive prayers, to grant that, as by the influence of his Majesty the aforesaid practices had already begun to decline, so, by the Lord's assistance, and the instrumentality of the King, the Irish people might entirely forsake their lewd and sinful courses, and adopt, in its full integrity, the discipline of the Christian religion, including the payment of tithes and abstinence from flesh meat during Lent, to the end that King Henry might obtain remission of his sins and an unfading crown of everlasting glory. (See Appendices A, B, C, D, E).

*Papal
Eulogies.*

* The Primate—Gelasius of Armagh—who was of a great age, was not present at the Synod of Cashel, but afterwards came to Dublin and "evinced a ready compliance with the King's desires in every matter."
—King, p. 518.

An Epitaph. In striking contrast to the foregoing stands the epitaph composed by an ancient rhymmer, with the spirit and substance of which one might venture to agree in preference to the eulogies of Popes Adrian and Alexander—

“Of late King Henry was my name,
Which conquered many a land,
And divers Dukedoms did possess,
And Earldoms held in hand;
And yet, while all the earth could scarce
My greedy mind suffice,
Eight foot within the ground now serves
Wherein my Carcas lyes.
Now thou that readest this note well
My force, with force of Death,
And let that serve to show the state
Of all that yeeldeth breath.
Do good then here, fore slow no time,
Cast off all worldly cares;
For brittel world doth full soone faile,
And death doth strike un’wares.”*

A miserable position.

The Princes in their Complaint proceed to recount the “mutual slaughters, continual depredations, constant rapine and instances of perfidy and fraud” from which they suffered, all of which they attribute to the false suggestion of King Henry and to Adrian’s grant founded thereon, in consequence of which 30,000 persons of both sides perished by the sword, independently of those who had been worn out by famine and destroyed in dungeons. “These few observations relative to the general origin of our progenitors, and the miserable position in which the Roman Pontiff has placed us, may suffice for the present occasion.”

* Hanmer, p. 171.

Referring particularly to the Church in their own time, they say that “our Bishops and Prelates are indiscriminately summoned, arrested, seized upon and imprisoned by the Ministers of the King of England in Ireland, and, though suffering as they do such constant and serious injuries, they are yet so strongly influenced by a slavish timidity that they never venture to bring before your holiness any representations concerning them. In consequence of such scandalous silence on their part we also are disposed to refrain from any further observations on this topic.”

*Creatures of
the Roman
Court.*

It has been suggested that the Irish clergy were, to some extent, responsible for the drafting of this document.

“It is, however, manifest,” writes Moore, “that the real object of this spirited document was to denounce, and indignantly protest against, the ultramontane party in the Irish Church, which was now leagued with the Roman Court in abetting the English King’s project for the subjugation of Ireland. The impressive passage in which this servility on the part of the Church is bitterly branded sufficiently sets aside the perverse notion that the native clergy took any leading share in drawing up the document.”*

This statement is in complete agreement with that of Dr. O’Conor, who writes thus:—“The truth is, that England paid large sums into the Pope’s treasury and conferred rich benefices on Italians, the creatures of the Roman Court, and that our ultramontane clergy, who looked up to that Court for preferment and for patronage, dared not make the least show of resistance.” “The Irish Chiefs exclaimed in

* Vol. III., p. 77.

bitter terms of reproach against their sycophant ultramontane clergy, who looked on, silent spectators of the calamities they suffered, and were afraid even to complain.”*

*The value of
an Irishman.*

The Princes lament the destruction of the dove-like innocence of the Irish character which the profligate examples of their rulers had changed into the cunning of the serpent. But they are especially aggrieved by the unjust laws under which they suffer, such as, “That permission is given to every person who is not Irish to summon at the law any Irish person in any sort of action whatsoever. But every Irishman, whether he be clerk or layman, the Prelates alone excepted, is, *ipso facto*, excluded from commencing any action whatsoever.”

In order to see the reality of this grievance it is necessary to refer to one instance only, quoted from Sir John Davys by King. At the Limerick Assizes, held in 1311, just seven years before the Princes wrote, and in the reign of Edward II., one William FitzRoger was charged with killing Roger de Cauteton. William’s defence was that Roger was an Irishman named O’Driscoll, and not of the name Cauteton, as he had pretended. The jury accepted this plea and acquitted William. But since Roger was one of the King’s subjects William was fined £3 6s. 8d. to compensate the King, “just as if it had been a dog, horse, or cow belonging to His Majesty which had been put to death.”†

*Murderous
Monks.*

The manner in which the authorities in the church regarded this savage procedure is clearly indicated by the following statement in the Princes*

* Historical Address, pp. 19, 136.

† *Ib.*, p. 1129.

Complaint:—"For it is not merely their lay and secular persons, but even some of the religious among them too, who are asserting the heretical doctrine that it is no more sin to kill an Irishman than a single dog or any other brute animal. And in confirmation of this heretical assertion some of their monks audaciously affirm that, if it were to happen to them, as it often does happen, that they should kill an Irishman, they would not for this refrain from the celebration of mass even for a single day. And, accordingly, what they preach in words is unhesitatingly and shamelessly put in practice in their deeds by the monks of the Cistersian Order of Granard, in the Diocese of Ardagh, and also by the monks of the same Order belonging to Inch, in the Diocese of Down. For, making their appearance publicly in arms, they invade and slaughter the Irish people, and yet celebrate their masses notwithstanding. And in like manner Friar Simon, of the Order of Minors [Franciscans], full brother to the Bishop of Connor, supports, and is one of the chief preachers of, that heresy. Who, in the year last past, while in the court of that noble lord, Lord Edward de Bruce, Earl of Carrick, unable, from the overflowings of a heart full of malice to contain himself in silence, did, in the presence of the said lord, as he himself testifies, break out impudently into preaching words of this kind, viz. :— 'That it is no sin to kill an Irishman, and that if he himself were to be the doer of the act he would not for this be one whit less ready to perform the celebration of mass.' "

Brenan (who was himself a Franciscan) has the following note on the Princes' Complaint: "Accordingly they presented to Pope John XXII. a *The Monks shielded.*

remonstrance, setting forth, in language the most affecting, the wretched state of their unfortunate country and the grinding oppression which, under the Government of England, they had for so many years endured. This document, forming such a picture of human suffering as cannot be found in the annals of any other nation, could not fail to make a deep impression on the mind of his holiness, and, accordingly, he addressed the following letter to Edward II., King of England.”*

But this writer makes no allusion whatsoever to the slaughtering proclivities of the Cistersian and Franciscan priests, which, to an unbiassed reader, would constitute the “most affecting” element in the wretched Irishman’s condition.

*Ultramon-
tanists.*

Dr. O’Conor, who was not as subservient to the Papacy as the Rev. M. J. Brennan, takes quite a different view as to the “impression on the mind of his Holiness” which the Complaint of the Princes produced. These are his words: “The Pope, indeed, wrote a letter of affected commiseration to Edward, expostulating in favour of the Irish.” That is the letter to which Brennan refers. But neither he nor A. M. Sullivan, who are two of the most widely read Irish historians, make any allusion to the following circumstance. “But,” writes Dr. O’Conor, “whilst with one hand he (Pope John) was writing in a style of *gentle* rebuke (the italics are Dr. O’Conor’s), with the other he was employed in issuing excommunications against the aggrieved for daring, without his leave, to confer the crown of Ireland on Bruce and attempting to vindicate their liberties against the most galling oppression that ever was heard of in the history of any nation. The

* Vol. II., p. 8.

ultramontane clergy obeyed this excommunication as they would any other. It was published by the Bishops of Canterbury, Winchester, and Dublin. Roland Joyce, who was then Primate, had public prayers offered up for the defeat of the Irish army; Edward (the King) paid into the Roman Treasury one thousand marks as his annual tribute for the crowns of Britain and Ireland,* and the Irish remained without liberty and without a constitution, exposed to the usual danger of being shot for no other reason than because they were Irish, and because the Ultramontanists obeyed the excommunication of the Court of Rome.”†

The truth is, that just then the King was *Loans and Rewards.* borrowing money from the Pope. In the Calendar of Patent Rolls, under the date August, 1318 (the year in which the Princes made their Complaint), there is the following entry:—“Acknowledgment that the King has received by the hands of Roger de Northburgh, King’s Clerk, Keeper of the Wardrobe, from William, Archbishop of York, in the name of Pope John XXII., 800 marks, as a loan out of the issues of the first year of the tenth [tithe] for six years imposed by Pope Clement for the Crusade, collected in the Diocese of York, with promise of repayment to the Pope within five years.” This is only one of many loans conveyed from the Pope to the King through Bishops of other Dioceses.

* In the following year, 1319, a Papal monition and exhortation, dated January, was issued to all the prelates, secular and regular, in England, Ireland, and Wales, the Hospitallers excepted, “to pay to the Archbishops of Canterbury and Dublin and the Bishop of London the tenth of the proceeds of their benefices for one year from the present date to meet the King’s expenses in defending his realm.” (See Calendar of Papal Registers). This document bears out Dr. O’Conor’s statement that the Pope “ordered that all the Tithes of Ireland should be paid into Edward’s Treasury to defray the expenses of this war.”—Historical Address, p. 135.

† Historical Address, p. 134.

The following significant entries occur in the same volume: "Windsor, November 11th. Grant, on account of his good service to the King, to Peter Doze, brother to the Pope (John XXII.), of £600 a year of *petits Tournois*, to be received at the hands of the Constable of Bordeaux until the King shall provide him with lands to that value."

"The like to the undermentioned persons, viz. :—

Peter de Vie, Nephew to the said Pope, £300 of like money.

Arnold de Triaü, Nephew of the said Pope, £300 of like money."

"November 11th, Windsor. Appointment for life of Peter Doze, Brother of the Pope, to be of the King's Household and following, and of his Council in parts beyond the seas.

The like to Peter de Vie, Nephew of the Pope.

The like to Arnold de Triaü, Nephew of the Pope."

Pensions for life amounting to £1,200 a year were of considerably more value in those days than they are now. It is not stated whether the appointments to the King's household and Council had salaries attached or not. But these transactions are sufficient to show the merely formal nature of the Pope's gentle rebuke to King Edward.* Had he withheld his loans from the King, and declined the honours and emoluments conferred on his brother and nephews, he might then have secured for the unfortunate Irish people a more gracious response to their "loud imploring cry" than, to their minds, awful sentence of excommunication by bell, book, and candle.

*Ill got—ill
gone.*

Of the Princes' Complaint as to the murderous

* Dr. Lynch complains of the Pope's *duplicity* in this affair. (Alithinol Supplem., p. 28. O'Connor: Historical Address, p. 135).

propensities of the Friars, the Pope takes not the least notice. There is abundant evidence of the tender solicitude of Pope John for these worthy ambassadors of the Cross. Just a year before the date under consideration we find the following entry : “ 1317, September—To the Archbishops of Armagh, Dublin, and Cashel. Mandate not to suffer the Friars Preachers of Ireland to be molested, touching Papal privileges which they have obtained, they being of the English Province [The Pale], and unable without great difficulty to have recourse to the conservators of the said privileges.”*

Similar evidences of Papal affection for the Friars are to be found at earlier and later dates. “ A.D. 1252, February. Mandate to the Archbishop of Tuam and the Bishop of Annadown [near Galway], not to proceed in the commission of inquiry against John de Frusinore, Canon of Dublin, Papal Chaplain and Nuncio in Ireland, in regard to the sum of 40,000 marks [£26,666 13s. 4d.] received by him from redemptions of vows, legacies, and other Holy Land Subsidies, of which, besides jewels and other annual procurations from Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates, he appropriated 3,000 marks to himself, and deposited them with the Friars, Minors and Preachers, and in the Cistercian houses of St. Thomas, Dublin, and of Mellifont.”

Large sums of money were levied and collected in Ireland, generally under pressure, for the rescue of the Holy Land from the heretics, but there is much reason to fear that there were many pious frauds of this kind in favour of such institutions as the Monasteries of Mellifont and of St. Thomas, Dublin, which grew fat on the misappropriated

* Calendar of Papal Registers, 1305-42, p. 160.

offerings of the faithful.* These were amongst the Monasteries confiscated by King Henry VIII., and their histories afford an apt illustration of the old adage "Ill got—ill gone!"

Pious confiscations.

The Princes, having complained that "the Monasteries for Monks and Canons from which, in modern times, the Irish are thus repulsed were founded for the most part by themselves," and that these intruding Monks and Canons had declared the sinlessness of murdering the Irish, go on to state that "from this mischievous heresy [as to killing the Irish] slipping on into another they all indiscriminately, as well Secular as Regular, pertinaciously affirm that it would be allowable for them, by violence and arms, to take from us of our lands and property of every kind, whatever portion they can lay hold on, not considering this anything to trouble their consciences, even in the hour of death. And all the land which they occupy in Ireland they occupy by usurpation of this kind. For it is those people who, by their deceitful and crafty scheming, have alienated us from the monarchs of England, hindering us, to the very great detriment of the King and the realm, from holding our lands—

* In a Calendar of Papal documents, under the heading of "Famine in Ireland" where, in return for the Peter's Pence, Papal Tenths, and various other taxations extending over some centuries, as well as on account of ordinary Christian charity, one would expect to find a record of a donation towards the support of the famine-stricken Irish, the following occurs:—"October. To the Vicar-General of the Prior Provincial of the Friars Preachers in England and Ireland. Faculty to grant leave to Friars Preachers to eat flesh meat on lawful days when they go out to preach the Word of God to the faithful in those parts, the disturbances and consequent lack of food in Ireland making it impossible for the Friars to obtain the prescribed kinds of meat outside their houses, which causes a diminution of persons entering their Order."—Calendar of Papal Registers, 1342-1362, p. 283.

those lands which are our own by every rightful title—as voluntary tenants immediately under those Princes, between whom and us they are sowing everlasting discords under the powerful influence of their covetous desires to get possession of our lands.”

This passage seems to charge the Monks and Canons alone with alienating the Irish from the monarchs of England, but probably the Princes meant it to refer to the Anglo-Roman laity as well.

A most remarkable instance of prolonging discord^{*Prolonging discord.*} between the King and the Irish people, and in which the Prelates took a prominent part, occurred in the year 1278, just forty years before the Complaint of the Princes. The Irish were then in the lowest extreme of wretchedness, and the hope of driving out the English was almost gone. The King's courts were not open to them, and, as already stated in their Complaint, they might be slain with impunity and for no offence. In their poverty they made up a purse of 8,000 marks, which, through the Governor, they tendered to the King, with a request that he would receive them as his faithful liegemen and take them under the protection of the laws of England.

“Nothing can so well illustrate their broken-hearted wretchedness,” writes Dr. Phelan, “as this mode of preferring the petition. A measure so just in itself, so fair in its prospects, so full of glory to the Prince who might condescend to adopt it was not to be thought of by the supplicants unless, like too many of their unhappy posterity, they approached the seat of justice with a bribe.”*

* Policy of Church of Rome, p. 124.

The King of that date was Edward the First, one of England's greatest rulers. His reply to the Irish petition is as follows: "1278. Edward, by the Grace of God, &c., to our trusty and well-beloved Robert de Ufford, Lord Justice of Ireland, Greeting. The improvement in the state and peace of our land of Ireland signified to us by your letter gives us exceeding joy. . . . Whereas the Irish Commonalty have made a tender to us of 8,000 marks on condition that we grant them the laws of England, to be used in the aforesaid land, we wish you to know that inasmuch as the Irish laws [Brehon] are hateful to God and repugnant to Justice, *it seems expedient to us and our council to grant them the laws of England*, provided always that the general consent of our people, or at least of our Prelates and Nobles of said land, do concur in this behalf. We, therefore, command you, that, having entered into treaty with this commonalty, and inquired diligently into the will of our people, Prelates and Nobles, in this matter, and having agreed upon the largest fine of money that you can obtain to be paid to us in this account, you make, with the consent of all aforesaid, or at least of the greater and sounder part thereof, such a composition touching the premises as you shall judge in your discretion to be most expedient for our honour and interest, &c., a body of good and stout Irish footmen to be ready for one campaign whenever called upon."

Ufford's reply was that the time for the consideration of the proposal was inconvenient, owing to the greater number of the Nobles being absent on business of State defending their lands, others were minors, and therefore it was impossible to collect an assembly sufficiently numerous for so grave a deliberation.

But the Irish again put forward their petition, ^{*A lost opportunity.*} and once more the King favoured their cause; on this occasion leaving the question practically in the hands of the Prelates.* “The King, to the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Counts, Barons, &c., and other English of the land of Ireland, greeting. Whereas we have been humbly supplicated by the Irish of said land that we would vouchsafe to grant them, of our grace, that they might use and enjoy the same common laws and customs within the land which the English there do use and enjoy. Now we, not thinking it expedient to make such grant without your knowledge and consent, do command you that upon certain days, about the festival of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, and in some convenient place, you hold diligent inquiry among yourselves whether or not we can make such grant without loss and the prejudice of your liberties and customs, and of all other circumstances touching such grant aforesaid, and that before the next meeting of our Parliament, to be held at Westminster, you distinctly and fully do advise our council what you shall determine in this matter, and *you shall not be moved to omit this by reason of the absence of those peers who may be detained away, or of those who are under age or in the state of wardship, so that after full deliberation, we may take such course in this behalf as to us and our council may seem expedient.*

Given at Westminster, September 10th, 1280.”†

This document is addressed directly to the Prelates and Nobles, the time for holding the council was specified, thus making the command peremptory,

* Spenser states that the number of Spiritual Peers outnumbered the Temporal at this period.

† Phelan's Policy, p. 124.

and the absence of many Nobles was not to be considered. The Prelates appear to have the question largely at their own discretion. At any rate, there is no record discovered so far of what happened.

The good intentions of the King and his Council were defeated, and the Prelates and Nobles of Ireland shut their ears to the groans of their countrymen. Sir John Davys, writing of this, says: "If the English would neither in peace govern them by law nor in war root them out by the sword, must they not needs be pricks in their eyes and thorns in their sides till the world's end."* Moore, on this topic, says: "It may be concluded, indeed, from the records of licences granted in this and subsequent reigns admitting certain favoured individuals to the privilege of English law, that no such general denization as the Irish had prayed for, and the throne wisely recommended, was, throughout that whole period, conceded."†

It was this King, Edward the First, who laid down the great principle that "what touches all should be approved by all," that is, that all persons who pay taxes should have a voice in the raising and spending of them. In his reign the first complete and model Parliament for England, representing Lords, Clergy, Counties, Cities, and Boroughs, met in 1295. Had his suggestion to the Irish Council been carried out the power to persecute and extort and slaughter would certainly have been weakened in Ireland.

The Princes, in the continuance of their Complaint, direct the Pope's attention to the fact "that

* Leland's History of Ireland, Vol. I., p. 254.

† Vol. III., p. 36.

the Court of Rome has not received the penny a year for each house in Ireland, according to the promise that had been made. In this way, then, and after no other fashion whatsoever, have the Kings of England and their subjects observed the articles of the aforesaid Bull relative to the Church and people of Ireland."

However it may be as regards Peter's Pence there is evidence that many exactions were made by the Pope from the Irish people. In 1229 a tax was levied by Pope Gregory IX. to enable him to carry on his war against the Emperor Frederick. Eleven years later—1240—an emissary arrived with a demand by the same Pope, under pain of excommunication, of the twentieth part of the whole land for the same war. After another eleven years—1251—there was a levy of "Saladin's Tenths" for war against the infidels at Jerusalem. In 1270 there was a levy for aid against the King of Arragon, and at the same time the "tenths" for three years were granted to King Henry III. for his Queen, Eleanor. In 1288 Pope Nicholas IV. granted the "tenths" of twelve years—six already due, and the six following—to King Edward I. The Bull making this grant is a remarkable document. "Nicholas—Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our venerable brother, the Bishop of Meath, and our beloved son the Dean of the Church of Dublin, greeting and apostolical benediction. It is not without sensations of lively joy, not without emotions of glowing exultation in the Lord, that we contemplate in our private meditations, and publish for the benefit of others, how that King, in whose hand are the hearts of Kings, hath benignly touched the heart of our dearly beloved son in Christ, Edward, the illustrious

King of England," and kindled his zeal for a crusade. Letters were addressed already to the four Archbishops on the same subject. The agents are empowered to "compel them, all and singular, to make their settlement with the said King." They are charged to do the work in strict honesty. They themselves are not exempted from the tax. Power of excommunication against any who refused was granted to them. In the year 1291 the clergy protested against the taxation referred to in this Bull, but without avail. The tax was paid, but was never sent to the Holy Land. The King and Pope divided it between themselves.

In 1302 the Pope again required money, and another levy was made, while, to insure its payment, the King was appointed collector, and granted one-half the proceeds.

In 1306 the King was in need, and received from the Pope, Clement V., a grant of seven years' tenths, out of which Queen Margaret received £10,000, and the Prince of Wales a share of the remainder. This was collected by Richard de Bereford and William de Ryvere. The annual valuation of the Diocese of Dublin in that year amounted to £2,302 14s. 4½d.; that of Elphin was £69 7s. 4d. Money was then about sixteen times its present value. The particulars of other Dioceses are given in King's History.* Thomas Moore writes: "The same sort of struggle between the civil and ecclesiastical Judicatures as had been maintained in England, and the same unceasing demands and exactions on the part of the Pope under the various forms of Peter's Pence, first fruits, and such other Papal taxes, were

* See also Rev. Thos. Olden's History of Ireland, p. 261.

experienced likewise during this century [fourteenth] in Ireland.”*

Dr. O’Conor writes: “In 1240, Otho the Legate obtained by separate private applications, intrigues and menaces, such immense sums from the Bishops and Convents, that he is said, by Mathew Paris [a Benedictine], to have carried more money out of the Kingdom than he left in it.” O’Conor refers to another Nuncio (Rinucini) at a later period, who borrowed several thousands from Robert Nugent of Kilkea, which had been left by his niece, the Countess of Kildare, to found a College, which the Nuncio never repaid. This Robert Nugent was a Roman Catholic clergyman, beloved by the Irish for his amiable manners, his compositions on the harp, and his zeal in the defence of his religion, and admired for his mathematical learning.†

A statement by the Princes on the Irish Land *The Land Question.* Question is of special interest just now. “About two years ago a letter describing these outrages and abominations of the people aforesaid, in a clear and simple way, with a view to obtaining a remedy, was addressed by several of the nobility of our nation to the Council of that King, and also to the King himself, through Lord John de Hothome, who is now, as we have been informed, Bishop of Ely; and we also made a courteous proposal to the same

* Vol. III., p. 112.

† As far back as the Synod of Cashel tithes had been granted to the clergy of “provisions, hay, young of animals, flax, wool, gardens, orchards, and out of all things that grow yearly, under pain of an anathema after the third monition.” On this Dr. Lanigan remarks that “great attention was paid to the immunities and comforts of the clergy.” “While Henry was so kind to the Irish clergy he seemed to forget his stipulation concerning what Adrian had so much at heart—the payment of the denarius, or Peter’s Pence, out of every house in Ireland.”—Vol. IV., p. 210.

party, that, for his greater profit and our own peace, we should hold our land, that land which is by right our own exclusively, immediately from himself without any opposition, according to the conditions and articles assigned and contained in the Bull of Adrian, a copy of which, in full, we transmit herewith to you, or that he should, with the consent of both parties, himself divide our land—aye, that land which is our own property—according to some reasonable plan between us and them for the sake of avoiding wholesale bloodshed. But never since have we obtained from himself or his council any answer whatsoever to this application.” This application through de Hothome explains an entry in the Calendar of Close Rolls for 1315. “September 1st. To the Justiciar. Order to cause the Magnates of Ireland to be convoked at a day and place to be agreed upon by them and John de Hothome, the King’s Clerk, whom he is sending to Ireland to explain certain matters to the Magnates, in order that he may explain them to the said Magnates. They are to be intendent to him in the prosecution of these affairs.” This looks like another effort on the part of the King to get into direct communication with the Irish. The negotiations of 1278 and 1280 were carried on in the ordinary channel. In 1315 a special Commissioner (de Hothome) was appointed for this purpose, but the latter proved as fruitless as the former, whether due to the same cause or not is not stated.

The proposal of the Princes for the solution of the Land Question was both wise and generous. Now, after 600 years of additional strife and bloodshed, their proposal is practically reverted to and almost unanimously adopted.

Before ending their Complaint with the intimation to the Pope that they were inviting Edward de Bruce, Earl of Carrick, a kinsman of their own, to be their King, they assert their determination to defend their rights in the following spirited passage :
 “ Therefore, without any remorse of conscience whatsoever, we will fight with them as long as life shall last in defence of our rights, never to cease from fighting with them, and annoying them, until they, for default of power, give over their unjust worrying of us, and the All-righteous Judge avenge Himself, by some plain visitation of condign retribution, for their abominable sins, which it is our belief and firm persuasion will ere long come to pass. Furthermore, the statements which are here inserted, and the recital of outrages which we have given, we are prepared and ready to testify by the testimony of twelve Bishops at least, and also of several other Prelates, duly proven according to time and place, and in such a legal order of proceeding as we have a right to demand ; and not like the English, who were never willing to abide by any just ordinance or upright principle so long as their power and prosperity lasted ; advantages which, if they were now possessed of, they would never have thought of running for shelter under the wings of the Court of Rome.”*

*Sheltering
under the
wings of
Rome.*

The Pope's reply was a rebuke to the King, which Dr. O'Connor describes as gentle, and at the same time an excommunication by “ bell, book, and candle ” of all who took part in the rebellion.† The Lord

*Primate
Joyce's
Prayers.*

* In the recent and successful request for Papal condemnation of the Land League there has been a repetition of the stratagem which the Princes describe as “ running for shelter under the wings of the Court of Rome.”

† This Bull of excommunication was addressed to the Archbishops of Dublin and Cashel and the Dean of Dublin.

Warden of Ireland that year was the Archbishop of Dublin—Alexander Bicknor—under whom Sir J. Bermingham was sent against the Irish at the Battle of Dundalk. Edward Bruce was slain, and Bermingham took his head to England as a trophy, and received the Barony of Louth as a reward for his services. Dr. O'Connor says that "the Primate had public prayers offered up for the defeat of the Irish enemy." Campion's account is that "the Primate of Armagh personally accompanied our soldiers, blessing their enterprise and assoyling [absolving] them ere ever the encounter began."*

* King says of this Complaint that "it speaks the language, not of affectionate and confiding children telling their sorrows into a parent's ear with sure hope of sympathy and relief, but rather that of the disheartened slaves of a relentless tyrant, feeling the burden of their oppression but seeing no remedy. The manner in which they complain to the Pope against England and her people is very similar to that used by the Israelitish slaves to their heartless oppressor in Egypt—"Behold, thy servants are beaten; but the fault is in thine own people."—p. 676.

In the following year, 1319, the Bishops of St. Andrew's, Dunkeld, Aberdeen and Moray were cited to appear before the Pope on the 1st of next May concerning charges against Robert Bruce. A command was given that the citation be published "on the doors of the Church at Avignon (in France) in order that Robert Bruce, his envoys and proctors, may not pretend ignorance of the same, he having resisted for more than a year various ecclesiastical sentences issued against him." Robert had aided his brother Edward in the Irish war.

II.

THE STATUTE OF KILKENNY, A.D. 1367.

The Statute of Kilkenny was passed at a Parliament summoned in that city for “the Thursday next after the day of Cinders [Ash Wednesday], in the fortieth year of the reign of Edward III., before his beloved son, Lionel, Duke of Clarence, his Lieutenant in those parts, to the honour of God and of His Glorious Mother, and of His Holy Church, &c., with the assent of the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and Priors.” *The consent of the Church.*

The consent of the Church to the holding of this and other Parliaments can be better understood when we remember that the King was supposed to hold Ireland, not by conquest, but *by gift from the Pope.*

It was on the ground of this gift that Edward IV. claimed the allegiance of the Irish a century after the Statute of Kilkenny, as appears from an Act passed at Dublin in 1467. “As our Holy Father Adrian, Pope of Rome, was possessed of the seigniorship of Ireland in his demesne, as of fee, in right of his Church of Rome, and to the intent that vices should be subdued and virtue encouraged, he aliened the same land to the King of England, for a certain rent, to be received in England, to hold to the King of England and his heirs for ever, *by which grant said subjects of Ireland owe their obedience to the King of England* as their sovereign lord as by said Bull appears.”* *Why the Irish should be loyal.*

* Hardiman's Statute of Kilkenny, p. 3.

*The brand of
Excommuni-
cation.*

The adjectives “obnoxious,” “cruel,” “iniquitous,” “infamous,” and such like, have been freely and, it must be admitted, justly applied to the Statute of Kilkenny. These are the terms in which it is spoken of in the humblest cottages in Ireland, for, unlike the Complaint of the Princes, the title of the Statute of Kilkenny is a household word, but there are certain important and significant facts relating to its authorship and enforcement, concerning which the average Irishman is as ignorant as he is of the contents of the Veda.

As the Parliament was summoned to the honour of God, and of His Holy Church, so its opening section declares that “First, it is ordained, agreed to, and established, that Holy Church shall be free, and have all her franchises without injury, according to the franchises ordained and granted by our lord the King or his progenitors, by (any) statute or ordinance made in England or in Ireland heretofore, and if any—which God forbid—do to the contrary and be excommunicated by the Ordinary [*i.e.*, the Bishop] of the place for that cause, so that satisfaction be not made to God and Holy Church by the party so excommunicated within a month after such excommunication, that then, after certificate thereupon being made by the said Ordinary into the chancery, a writ shall be directed to the Sheriff, Mayor, Seneschal of the franchise, or other officers of our lord the King, to take his body, and to keep him in prison, without enlarging him by mainprize, or bail, until satisfaction be made to God and Holy Church,” &c.*

The popular notion in Ireland is that the Statute

* *Ib.*, p. 9.

of Kilkenny was the handiwork of some such people as Protestant landlords, whereas this opening section would give the idea that it was the act of some such people as Roman Catholic Divines.

The prohibition of "gossipred," or the "fostering" of children, is one of the first of the small-minded decrees of the Statute of Kilkenny. *Racial sympathies.* Campion, who has little that is good to say of the Irish, remarks that "they love and trust their foster-brethren more than their own," which is a high and unconscious eulogy on the large-heartedness of their nature.

"Fostering," says Davys, "hath always been a stronger alliance than blood, and the foster-children do love, and are beloved, of their foster-fathers and their sept more than of their own natural parents and kindred, and do participate of their means more frankly, and do adhere unto them in all their fortunes with more affection and constancy."

The truth of Davys' statement is proved by the Statute. It has often been asserted that the disunion which exists in Ireland is due to racial antipathies. The opposite view is the more correct. Artificial hindrances to union, such as the civil and religious legislators at Kilkenny sought to impose, and such as have been renewed in various forms down to the present time, have been called forth by strong racial sympathies.

The same prohibition extended to marriage of the English with Irish, and to the observance of Irish manners, dress, laws, and customs, the great aim being, as Professor Stokes remarks, "to prevent Englishmen turning into Irishmen, and becoming, according to the old complaint, more Irish than the Irish themselves. But penal statutes, not grounded

on public opinion, and running counter to great natural forces are sure to fail.”*†

*The Irish
Language.*

Section III. prohibited the use amongst the English of the Irish language and Irish mode of dress and riding. The Irish residing amongst the English were also forbidden to use their own language amongst themselves, under the penalty of losing their lands, or of being imprisoned till they gave security for better behaviour.

There is no policy more exasperating than that of attempting to deprive a people of the language of their country. The Irish appear to have cherished their language as much as they did their native land. Leland, quoting from the annals of MacFirbis, states that, “sometimes, indeed, when a particular sept was in danger of total ruin from the victory of some English forces, their neighbours were persuaded to come to their rescue, ‘*for the sake of the Irish language,*’ but without engaging further, and without conceiving themselves bound by one general permanent interest.”‡ Human beings instinctively venerate the possessions and concerns of their ancestors. This feeling leads the Chinese, and other races, to the excess of ancestor-worship, but, that it should lead a family of mankind to esteem and love the language of their forefathers is both natural and reasonable. The process of “forcing down the throat” is nowhere put into operation more literally

* Ireland and Anglo-Norman Church, p. 338.

† By graunting Charters of peas [peace]

To false English without les [lease]

This land shall be mich undoo.

But Gossipred and Alterage [marriage]

And leeing [losing] of our Language

Have mickely holp theretoo.

—Davys’ Discovery, p. 185.

‡ Vol. II., p. 17.

or harshly than when a people are compelled to speak a foreign tongue to the exclusion and disuse of their own.

It is said of Mithridates, King of Pontus, that he understood the languages of the twenty-two nations which owned his sway, and was able to converse with their delegates without the aid of an interpreter.* It is much more pleasant to contemplate a Sovereign endeavouring to acquire the language of his subjects than to see him forcing them to learn his, at the loss of theirs.

Pope John VIII., over a thousand years ago, wrote to the Moravians that "it is not in three languages only [Hebrew, Greek, and Latin], but in every language we are exhorted to praise the Lord."† A learned Roman Catholic writer, Martene, states that "it appears to us to be not without good reason that we may assert that the Apostles and their successors used in each country that language that was common and vernacular among the people,"‡ and he quotes the letter of Pope John VIII. in support of his argument.§

* Cambrensis Eversus, Vol. I., p. 181.

† King, p. 966.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ The saying that the devil could not speak Irish was popular in the seventeenth century! It was probably a sarcasm levelled against the English who were generally ignorant of it. The O'Reilly of Cavan, being informed by his family nurse that one of his sons, a boy of four, would be a stammerer, or entirely dumb, resolved to send him to the Pale to learn English, which he believed was only fit for stammerers!—Cambrensis Eversus, Vol. I., p. 187.

In 1541 the Anglo-Irish lords, Barry, Fitzmaurice, Roche, and Athenry (Birmingham), could speak Irish only. This was just the beginning of the Reformation. It is difficult to understand why the clergy should have allowed the Irish language to be driven out of general use. There were many regions in which "the King's writ did not run." Surely one of these was the region of the tongue.

Archbishop Trench, addressing a class of English students, said "the love of our own language what is it in fact but the love of our

For many centuries the Irish people have been christened, confirmed, communicated, married and buried by the ministry of a foreign tongue which they have not understood, as if their own Irish language were displeasing to the ear of the Almighty.

Brehon Law.

Section IV. decrees "That no Englishman be governed in the termination of their disputes by March, or Brehon, law, which reasonably ought not to be called law, being a bad custom."

An Act of 1476 refers to what is here condemned as "the wicked and damnable law called Brehon."

Possibly this system was not so bad as it is here described.

Hardiman quotes Chief Baron Finglas as stating "that divers Irishmen doth observe and keep such laws and statutes which they make upon hills in their country firm and stable without breaking them for any favour or reward." Also Sir John Davys:—"There is no nation or people under the sun that doth love equal and indifferent justice better than the Irish, or will rest better satisfied with the execution thereof, although it be against themselves, so as they have the benefit and protection of the law when upon just cause they do desire it." And again, Sir Edward Coke, "that there is no nation of the Christian world that are greater lovers of justice

country expressing itself in one particular direction?" And he quotes with approval the following from a German scholar, Schlegel:—"The care of the national language I consider as at all times a sacred trust and a most important privilege of the higher orders of society. Every man of education should make it the object of his unceasing concern to preserve his language pure and entire, to speak it as far as is in his power in all its beauty and perfection. . . . A nation whose language becomes rude and barbarous must be on the brink of barbarism in regard to everything else. A nation which allows her language to go to ruin is parting with the last half of her intellectual independence and testifies her willingness to cease to exist."—(English, Past and Present, p. 4).

than the Irish are, which virtue must of necessity be accompanied by many others." Hardiman's conclusion is, that since the people thus described by those high English authorities had been governed exclusively by the Brehon law, and that if causes may be judged by their effects, "surely it would not be unreasonable to conclude that this law was not the 'evil custom' or 'the wicked and damnable law' which it is represented to be by the legislators of the Pale."*

Section VII. decrees that, "Whereas by con-^{Episcopal}
spiracies, champerties, &c., the leige commons of^{Resident}
the said land, in pursuit of their rights, are much^{Magistrates.}
disturbed, aggrieved, and deprived of their inheritance, it is ordained and established that diligent inquiry be made of such, in every county, by the justices to hold pleas in the chief places, and of their maintainors, and that due and expeditious execution be had against those who shall be maintained thereof, according to the form of the Statute in this respect made in England, without fine or redemption to be taken of them, that others may, by such speedy execution, be deterred from doing or maintaining such horrible acts contrary to law in grievance of the said leige commons, and that the Archbishops and Bishops of the said land, each within his Diocese, shall have letters patent of our lord the King from his chancery in Ireland to inquire of the articles aforesaid *when they think fit*, and thereupon, according to the law of holy Church, to proceed against them by censures, and to certify into said chancery the names who shall be guilty thereof, so that our lord the King, to the honour of God and of holy Church, the Government of His

* Hardiman's Statute of Kilkenny, p. 9.

laws and the preservation of His said people, may inflict due punishment for the same."

The loyalty of the Bishops to the Statute of Kilkenny was quite taken for granted just as if they were the paid officials of the Crown. To such epithets as "obnoxious," "iniquitous," "infamous," so freely applied to this Statute, there may be fittingly added "blasphemous," seeing that by it the Hierarchy of the Church undertook to pronounce the excommunications of God on the authority of Letters Patent from the King.

Tithes.

Section VIII. enacts "that no lay person whatsoever ought to meddle with tithes or any spiritual goods . . . appertaining to holy Church" under the penalty of being attainted, and making restitution of double their value, and being fined at the King's pleasure.

Roman Catholic clergymen have in recent times conducted a vigorous agitation against the levying of tithes. The section just quoted shows that a similar agitation had arisen long before the Reformation. As to whether the Irish tithe-payer received better value for his money, taking all things into account, under the former period or under the latter, is a question on both sides of which something might be said.*

Coercion.

Section IX. indicates the machinery by which the Statute was enforced. "And, whereas [persons guilty of] disobedience to God and holy Church, and put out of communion of Christians, cannot, nor ought to of right be received to the favour of our lord the King or to the communion of his officers ;

* Dr. Lanigan states that tithes were probably introduced to Ireland in 1151 by Cardinal Paparo, but admits that Gilbert of Limerick may have introduced them about forty years earlier.

it is ordained that when the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates of holy Church have *excommunicated, interdicted, or fulminated* the censures of holy Church against any person, English or Irish, for reasonable cause at the request of our lord the King, or, *ex-officio*, or at the suit of the party, that, after that the notification of these censures shall come to our lord the King or to his Ministers, these persons, upon the point for which they shall be excommunicated, shall not be received unto the favour of our said lord the King, nor into communion or allegiance with his Ministers, nor to maintenance in their error by any of the leige people, until they shall have made satisfaction to God and holy Church, and shall be restored as the law of holy Church requires, and if a maintainer of such excommunicated person be found and attainted against the ordinance afore-said, he shall be taken and prisoned and fined at the King's will."

Ever since the Synod of Dublin—1186—excommunication had been the favourite means of punishing offenders against the law.* Section 20 of the decree

* In the year 1267 Archbishop Fulk de Saundford of Dublin resented certain encroachments on his rights, for which he excommunicated the mayor and placed the city under an interdict. The Pope's Legate, Cardinal Octobon, ordered the Bishops of Lismore and Waterford to denounce, by bell, book, and candle, the excommunicated mayor and citizens in all public places within the City of Dublin. In 1492 an excommunicated Mayor of Dublin was compelled to go barefoot through the city in procession before the Sacrament on Corpus Christi's day.—Mason's History of St. Patrick, pp. 132, 141.

The practical result of excommunication resembled an extreme form of the modern "Boycott," except that the offender in the former case was looked upon by his superstitious neighbours as forsaken by God as well as by man, and in some instances he was punished by the "secular arm." The most notable recent instance of an attempted "Boycott" is that advocated at Maynooth on the 23rd June, 1904, when a Roman Catholic clergyman said, "As long as they allowed temporal prosperity to be attached to heresy it was a temptation to the heretic to remain in his unbelief," that is, drive the heretic out

of that Synod provided "that all archers, and all others who carry arms not for the defence of the people, but for plunder and sordid lucre, shall on every Lord's day be excommunicated by bell, book, and candle, and at last be refused Christian burial." This was aimed against the Irish whom it was intended to disarm.

*The Church
and the
herdsmen.*

Large numbers of the Irish in those days derived their living from herds of cattle which they pastured, season after season, on lands rented for the purpose from occupying tenants.

A knowledge of this custom explains the peculiar hardship inflicted by Section XII. of the Statute, which decrees "That no Irishman shall pasture, or occupy, the lands belonging to the English, or Irish being at peace, against the will of the lords of the said lands, &c." It was this and some other decrees of a similar kind that earned for the Statute of Kilkenny the title of "The Declaration of War against the Irish Race."

Mr. Plowden, in his historical review of the state of Ireland, says, "Imagination can scarcely devise an extreme of antipathy, hatred and revenge to which this code of aggravation was not calculated to provoke both nations." "It remains," says Hardiman, "a memorable example of the folly and wickedness of enacting vindictive laws for temporary purposes, which can only tend to create and continue dissensions among mankind."* Yet this decree was carried out in the letter and the spirit as shown

of his heresy by depriving him of his temporal prosperity. This was an attempt to bring to bear upon the heretic, that is, the Protestant, an up-to-date form of the antiquated weapon which the Church in the old days turned upon the "mere Irish" with such great vengeance.

* If the Pope had been as solicitous of the "morality" of the Irish Land Question in 1367 as he was when, on the advice of Monsignor Persico and Bishop Healy of Clonfert, he condemned the Irish

by an Act of Parliament at Dublin in 1440 (seventy-three years later than the Statute of Kilkenny), section 13 of which is as follows:—"For that on the day of April, in the 6th year of the reign of our lord the King that now is [Henry VI.], in the Friary of the Friars Minors at Trim, a conference having been holden between the Rev. Father in God [William], Bishop of Meath, deputy to the noble Lord de Grey, then Lieutenant of our lord the King therein, for that divers English living within lands in the marches [boundaries], and divers Irish rhymers and sundry other outlaws and felons to our lord the King dwelling upon the same, without licence of our lord the King, the said Irish rhymers, outlaws, and felons . . . as well as those adhering to them bring their creights [*i.e.*, herdsmen or cowboys], to wit, horses, oxen, calves, pigs, great and small, sheep, goats, and all other their goods and chattels within the said land called Maghery," &c., for which offences certain penalties are specified.

This was not the only conference held in the Friary at Trim for the drafting of persecuting laws against the Irish.

A still more remarkable Act was passed in Dublin just forty years later—1480. It speaks for itself. *Boycotted Markets.*
 "For that whereas divers Irish merchants lately stocked with store of goods, by the concourse of the English merchants in Ireland, have of late years found great means to injure and destroy the markets of Athy, Kells, Ffour, Molyngar, Oldcastle, and other ancient English market towns by these means, to wit, they have commenced markets in the country

Land League as an immoral association, possibly this and many another statute would wear a very different complexion from that which they now present.

of O'Reilly, and the country of O'Ferrall, at Cavan, Granard, Longford, and other places, which, if they be long continued, will cause great riches to the King's enemies." The English are forbidden to hold any commercial intercourse with these Irish under pain of forfeiture and imprisonment. The Irish, it appears, were struggling to acquire for themselves a moderate degree of prosperity, which excited the envy of dwellers within the Pale. These latter must have been hard pressed when they resorted to such means of defence.*

Hottentots.

A further provision of the Statute of Kilkenny (Section XIII.) was "that no Irishman of the nations of the Irish be admitted into any Cathedral or Collegiate Church by provision, collation, or presentation of any person, nor to any benefice of holy Church amongst the English of the land."

It has been said, to the credit and glory of the Christian Church, that through the portals of her ministry even slaves might attain to eminence and honour such as no other calling in life could bring within their reach. Yet Irishmen in their own country were driven from the altars at which their fathers knelt and prayed, and were grudged even a resting-place in their fathers' graves. If heresy were their offence it might have been remedied by instruction, or if wickedness were the excluding cause repentance might have effected a change. But their sole defect lay in their race and blood, which nothing could change any more than the Ethiopian could change his skin or the leopard his spots. A slight tinge of the Christian spirit should save Hottentots from such treatment, even in a

* The wisdom and spirit of their proposal were worthy of the authors of the modern "Catholic Association."

land of strangers, as Irishmen were subjected to in their own.

Those of the Irish who were prepared to renounce their nationality were still admitted to benefices among the English, as in the case of John Kevernok, who was presented, in 1465, to the Parish of Lusk, “the said John by authority of the same [Parliament] *to be declared English born*, and of English nation, that he may hold and enjoy the same benefice.”* “Faith and Fatherland” has been the rallying-cry of patriots all the world over, but in the palmiest days of Roman rule in Ireland what was demanded was the Faith without the Fatherland.

In 1493 an Act was passed to enable Archbishop Fitzsimons,† of Dublin, for two years, “to present Irishmen to benefices among the Irish in his Diocese.” This was owing to the fact that Englishmen could not be found to take these benefices.

In the History of Galway, by Hardiman (who was himself a Galway Roman Catholic, and Librarian of the Queen’s College there), we find a notable instance of the same spirit as that which prompted Section XIII. of the Statute of Kilkenny. *Galway anglicised by the Pope.*

On the 4th February, 1484, Pope Innocent VIII. issued a Bull as follows:—

“Innocent, Bishop, servant of the servants of

* Hardiman’s Statute of Kilkenny, pp. 42, 47.

† It was this Archbishop who took part in excluding Irishmen from Dean Allen’s Hospital, near St. Patrick’s, just four years later.

The attitude of the Papacy towards the Irish during the whole period is not unfairly represented by the Will of this Dean Allen, who, with the co-operation of Archbishop Fitzsimons, founded an hospital near the Cathedral for Englishmen, chiefly of the families of Allen, Barrett, Begg, Hill, Dillon, and Rogers, with the provision that no Irishmen should be admitted. (Mason’s History of St. Patrick’s, p. 142.) This was within fifty years of the Reformation. What excuse the Archbishop and Dean, and their Anglo-Roman friends, could give for the exclusion of a poor Irishman from their hospital it is difficult to imagine.

God, &c. We, exercising the office of a watchful sentinel, as it is granted to us from above, over the Lord's flock, committed by the Divine power to our vigilance, do willingly mind those things by which Divine worship is augmented and the salvation of souls is hoped to proceed from, &c. Now, it hath been represented to us, in a petition lately set forth, of our beloved children the entire parishioners of the Parish Church of S. Nicholas, of the town of Galway, in the Diocese of Enaghdone [since united to Tuam] that our venerable brother Donogh, Archbishop of Tuam, having taken some time since into his attentive consideration that the parishioners of the said Church of St. Nicholas were modest and civilized men, having their habitation in a walled or fortified town, and that they did not practise the same customs as *the wild and mountainous people* of those parts were in the habit of using; and that they were so harassed by the outrages of daily occurrence committed by people of that wild mountain race, aforesaid, on the vicarage of the said Church (which used heretofore to be ruled over by vicars), that they were unable to hear Divine service or to receive the Sacraments of the Church according to the *decency, rite, and customs of England, which they, the said inhabitants, and their ancestors of old, had ever been accustomed to follow*, and they were kept in a state of disturbance by these ignorant people," and plundered and murdered, &c. Therefore, Pope Innocent constituted the Church a Collegiate Church, with one Custos or Warden and eight Vicars, "all holding the English rite and order in the celebration of Divine service," and if anyone shall presume to withstand this ordinance "let him know that he incurs the indignation of Almighty God and of His Holy Apostles Peter and Paul."*

* Hardiman's History of Galway, Appendix No. II.

The contrast in this document is very marked between, on the one side, "the beloved children," the "modest and civilized men," who were manifestly members of "the Lord's flock," and who were to be ministered to by eight "civilized," "virtuous," "learned," "English" men; and, on the other hand, the "wild mountain race," the "ignorant people," who "harassed," "plundered," and "murdered" their neighbours, and were to be ministered to by goodness only knows whom!

This Bull was issued just sixty-five years before the Reformation began in England.

The "beloved children" in whose favour it was drawn up were the famous Tribes, concerning whose history such a mistaken notion generally prevails. These tribes were English, or Norman, families of the names Athy, Blake, Bodkin, D'Arcy, Deane, Font, Ffrench, Joyce, Lynch, Martin, Morris, and Skerrett. They were all foreigners, surrounded by a Celtic population, and having their Norman Cathedral, dedicated in correct Norman fashion, to Nicholas of Myra, the Patron Saint of Sailors. *The "Tribes" and the Irish.*

The treatment received by the Irish from the Tribes of Galway indicates the tyranny under which the whole country groaned. The By-laws of the town are given by Hardiman, in so far as they are of any special interest.

In 1516, the Mayor and his colleagues made the following regulation: "That no man of the town shall lend or sell galley, botte, or barque to an Irishman." The Mayor of that year was Stephen Lynch FitzJames, and the Bailiffs were Gabriel Lynch* and

* Dr. Lynch, himself a member of one of the Tribes, in the seventeenth century, as I have already noted, was indiscreet enough to say in argument against the genuineness of Pope Adrian's Bull, that "the man must have no conscience, or not be in his right senses, who would

Thomas Kirwan. The Irishmen of the locality made, as they still do, a good part of their living by fishing, and the hardship of depriving them of boats, for which they were prepared evidently to pay, was both cruel and despotic. That such a condition of affairs should originate and continue under the direct patronage of him who claims to be the successor of the Fisherman of Galilee causes many and strange thoughts to pass through the mind.

But the native Galway men, being a brave and proud race, could not view without vexation, and a large degree of contempt, those favoured Tribes sheltered within their modern Jericho (although in this instance the tribes and the trumpets were *within* the walls), which feelings they were not slow to express in a way not agreeable to the tribal ears. If the galling invective of the Celtic tongue does not fully explain the spiteful by-law of 1516, it certainly accounts for the following two years later: "If any man should bring any Irishman to brage or boste upon the towne to forfeit 12d."*

hand over the government of such a people to a foreign prince on the sole ground of reforming their morals." One of the chief agents in the process of "handing over the Government" was an ancestor of Dr. Lynch's, the great De Lacy, who was slain while building for himself a castle at Durrow, on land which he had seized from the old Columban monastery, in which the famous Book of Durrow, now in Trinity College Library, was written over a thousand years ago. That was the first agrarian murder in Ireland after the Conquest. But, apart from that, one wonders what Dr. Lynch, who was, it seems, a man of a most estimable disposition, could have thought of the conscience and sanity of Pope Innocent for having handed over such people as the Irish of Galway to the Government—or, rather, the banishment—of the Lynches, Bodkins, Kirwans, etc.

* On the 27th August, 1905, the founding of an Augustinian Church by a lady named Margaret Athy was commemorated in Galway as a function of historic interest. A Roman Catholic clergyman named Yorke, from San Francisco, delivered the oration, of which the following statement is a sample: "The ancient inhabitants, the Catholics,

Yet there are certain seasons in the Christian year that bring to mind events of the past which inspire us with feelings of goodwill and peace, and with hope for a coming day when the wolf shall dwell with the lamb. How these seasons were viewed and experienced in the town of Galway the following, dating also from 1518, will show :

“ That no man of this town shall oste [entertain] or receive into ther housses at Christmas, Easter, nor no feast elles, any of the Burkes, MacWilliams, the Kellies nor no cept elles, withoute license of the Mayor and Councill on payne to forfeit £5.” The MacWilliams were descendants of the great De Burgh and of the same clan as the Burkes. These, with the O’Kellies, were specially obnoxious to the Tribes. The by-law just given contains a second clause, which directs “ that neither O ne (nor) Mac shall strutte ne swaggere through the streets of Galway.”* As a curious instance of the prejudice of the “ old English ” inhabitants against the “ mere Irish ” Hardiman states that “ none of the O’Flaherties ever held, or would be suffered to hold, any office therein because they were of the mere Irish, but their followers, the Joyces, were admitted to every

were reduced to hewers of wood and drawers of water. The newcomers, the Protestants, were lords and masters.”

This statement has the virtue of boldness considering where it was made, but from the lips of one whose errand is truth the following would be nearer the mark :—“ The ancient inhabitants, the Irish, were hewers of wood and drawers of water. The newcomers, the ‘ beloved children ’ of the Papacy, were lords and masters, and ruthless tyrants to boot.”

* Archbishop Healy now states that Trinity College, Dublin, is “ no place for Catholics.” Similarly Galway, under the regime of Pope Innocent’s “ beloved children,” was no “ place for Irishmen ! ” In 1522 it was ordered “ that no man be made fre unless he can speke the English tonge and shave his upper lipe weekly, *subpæna* 20s.” The Irish as a rule did not shave the upper lip.

civic employment because they were of British extraction.”*

*The Godly
Canons.*

The setting up of these Colonies in Ireland, with their English ritual—that is, the Roman ritual as distinguished from the Celtic—was intended to bring back to the purity of the Church the barbarous tribes of the Irish who were supposed to have wandered into lewdness and crime. The question naturally arises—Were the Tribes of Galway, with Pope Innocent’s eight “virtuous,” “godly” and “learned” Canons, as a light shining in darkness, whose righteous souls were so vexed with the filthy conversation of the O’s and Mac’s that there was no remedy left but to banish them as lepers from their town?

Hardiman quotes another by-law, dealing with both lay and cleric in Galway, which, for decency, is here omitted, but which, had it come within Dr. Lanigan’s survey, would have caused him to lament the Bull of Pope Innocent† as much as he did those of Adrian and Alexander.

* H-Iar Connaught, p. 247.

† This Pope took an interesting part in the Simnel rebellion. Lambert Simnel pretended to be the Earl of Warwick, who was the Yorkist candidate for the English crown. The Irish, all through the Wars of the Roses, were devoted to the white rose of York, and welcomed Simnel to Dublin, where he was crowned as Edward VI. at Christ Church Cathedral in 1486. The Lord Deputy (Kildare) and most of the peers took part in the ceremony, as did also Archbishop Fitzsimons and all the Bishops, except Primate Octavian, who remained faithful to King Henry VII.

But the real Earl of Warwick was a prisoner in the Tower of London, and King Henry held a Bull from Pope Innocent excommunicating all rebels. When the fraud was discovered in Ireland, and the rod of the Papal anathema was felt, there was a copious shedding of tears. Sir R. Edgecombe was sent over to assist the Primate in receiving the submission of the Peers and Bishops. The following is a part of the oath which was administered to the delinquents before they could be pardoned from the excommunication which the King had caused to

But the mills of Time, in their awful grindings, have so brought it to pass that now, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the same St. Nicholas' Church is entirely free from Papal control, and under the jurisdiction of one whose ancestral clansmen came beneath the lash of the "strut ne swagger" clause of the Galway by-law, namely, the Right Rev. James O'Sullivan, D.D., Lord Bishop of Tuam.

A notable instance of the enforcement of Section XIII. of the Statute is recorded in the year 1542, under King Henry VIII. "Thomas Clynche, Chaplain, was presented to the perpetual vicarage of the Parochial Church of St. Movinoge, in the Diocese of Cashel, belonging to the King's presentation, by reason of the Incumbent being of the Irish nation."* That is, the Irishman had to turn out, simply because he was an Irishman, to let the Englishman in. *Henry VIII. and the Irish.*

It may be here remarked that King Henry the Eighth is commonly supposed to have renounced the Roman Catholic Creed, and to have initiated the Reformation. Uneducated Irishmen accept such "stuff" as, perhaps, no other people in the world would. Working on this admirable feature in the Irishman's character, namely, his trustfulness in *King Henry's Creed.*

be issued against them—"I will not let [hinder] nor cause to be letted the execution and declaration of the great censures of holy church to be done against any person of what estate, degree, or condition he be, by any Archbishop or Bishop, according to the authority of our most holy father Pope Innocent VIII. that now is against all them of the King's subjects that let or trouble our said sovereign lord King Henry VII."

The Bishops took the same with the following addition:—"As oft as they should be required they would execute the censures of the church on behalf of their sovereign lord against all those his subjects of what dignity, degree, state or condition he be that letteth or troubleth their said sovereign lord."—Phelan's Policy, p. 154.

* Patent Rolls, 1542.

his appointed guides,* prejudice against, and contempt for, the religion of all who refuse to acknowledge the Roman claims are instilled into his mind by such false assertions as that the opposing Creed was invented by a man of a foul reputation like King Henry VIII. But when Irishmen shall have studied some history for themselves, should they ever be permitted to do so, they will surely open their eyes.

The truth about Henry VIII. is that he renounced the Papal Supremacy, or Authority, in the public affairs of the nation, but continued a firm believer in the Roman Creed, for the defence of which the Pope had previously conferred on him the title of "Defender of the Faith."

Brenan thus writes of Henry VIII. : "He was a Schismatic, but *there is no proof that he was ever a heretic*. In 1539 he caused an Act to be passed, called the Six Articles, in which it was made criminal to deny the real presence of Christ's Body in the Sacrament, the administration of the Eucharist under one kind, the celibacy of the clergy, the obligation of vows of Chastity, private Mass, and Auricular Confession. The King gave his sanction to these Articles, and *death was the punishment* of those who should oppose them obstinately."†

Moore puts the case more fully. "The penal power," he writes, "was indeed in his (Henry's)

* Campion understood the credulity of the Irish character thoroughly, as Jesuits generally do, and gives an exaggerated and contemptuous story as an illustration. "So light [ready] they are in believing whatsoever is, with any countenance of gravity, affirmed by their superiors, whom they esteem and honour, that a lewd Prelate within these few years, needy of money, was able to persuade his parish that St. Patrick, in striving with St. Peter to let an Irishman into heaven, had his head broken with the keys, for whose relief he (the Prelate) obtained a collection!"—History of Ireland, p. 18.

† Vol. II., p. 96.

hands a double-edged sword, for whose frightful sweep his complaisant legislators had provided victims from both religions. For, as all who denied the King's supremacy were declared traitors, and all who rejected the Papal Creed were pronounced heretics, the freest scope was offered to cruelty for the alternate indulgence of its tastes, whether in hanging conscientious Catholics for treason, or sending Protestants to perish in the flames for heresy. On one occasion, *singled out of many*, the horrible fruits of this policy were strikingly exhibited. In the same cart were conveyed to execution three Catholics and three Protestants, the former for denying the King's supremacy, the latter for denying the doctrine of Transubstantiation. The Catholics were hanged, drawn, and quartered, the Protestants were burned."*

This was the noblest cartful of men who appeared in Ireland for many a century. They neither wronged nor murdered any man, but, for the sake of conscience, defied the tyrannies of both King and Pope.

Dealing further with King Henry VIII., Moore states that he enacted "the bloody Statute of the Six Articles, this violent law by which almost all the principal Catholic doctrines were enjoined peremptorily, under pain of death and forfeiture."

The exclusion of the Irish from the Ministry of the Church was nowhere more rigidly carried out than in the National Cathedral of St. Patrick. Dr. Mason, in his history of St. Patrick's, gives, in the original, a Bull issued by Pope Leo X. as late as the year 1515. That Bull contains the following clause: "Furthermore, that ancient custom concerning Irishmen by nation, manners, and blood,

*The Pope and
St. Patrick's.*

* Vol. III., p. 293.

who should not be admitted in the said Cathedral Church of St. Patrick, any royal dispensation notwithstanding, it is agreed that it shall flourish, grow strong and prevail with vigorous and perpetual care. Furthermore, let diligent examination be made, as well by the Archbishop as by the Dean and Chapter, and if any person shall be found defective in these or in any other of the aforesaid matters, let him not be admitted, but, rather, let him be at once expelled.”* † The late Professor Stokes, of Trinity College, writes, “surely Church matters must have come to a dreadful pass in Ireland when the Pope, the Patriarch of Western Christendom, could, in the year 1515, thus lend himself to the ecclesiastical ostracism of the Celtic race and avow himself the partisan of one section of the Church of Ireland.” ‡ §

* Mason's note on the Bull is “It is remarkable that the Bull not only excluded Irishmen from becoming members of the Cathedral but adds ‘notwithstanding any regal dispensation.’”

† History of St. Patrick's, Appendix, p. 15.

‡ Anglo-Norman Church, p. 378.

§ A. M. Sullivan puts the following statement into the lips of a supposed fault finder:—“Hitherto—(so one might put it)—that hapless nation in its fearful struggle against ruthless invaders found Rome on the side of its foes. It was surely a hard and a cruel thing for the Irish, so devotedly attached to the Holy See, to behold the rapacious and bloodthirsty Normans, Plantagenets, and Tudors, able to flourish against them Papal Bulls and Rescripts, until now when Henry quarrelled with Rome. Now—henceforth—*too late*—all that is to be altered; henceforth the Bulls and the Rescripts are all to exhort the broken and ruined Irish nation to fight valiantly against that power to which, for four hundred years, the Roman Court had been exhorting or commanding it to submit. Surely Ireland has been the sport of Roman policy, if not its victim.” Sullivan states this objection in order to disprove it. But his disproof consists of one, and only one argument, namely—“What may be said with truth is that the Popes inquired too little about the fact and practice, and were always too ready to write and exhort upon such a question at the instance of the English.”—Story of Ireland, p. 211.

It is surely a poor thing to have to admit that a nation was for four hundred years persecuted by “ruthless,” “rapacious” and “blood-

Cardinals, and other Roman officials, Bishop O'Dwyer of Limerick in particular, now lament their exclusion from the ancient Cathedrals of Ireland, but when they had control of these sacred edifices they desecrated them to the branding of a stigma on the Irish name, and any official attempt on their part to seek admission once again would find men of the same liberty-loving spirit as Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Robert Emmet to block the way.

The laws which govern these Cathedrals, the creeds recited in them, the ritual observed in them, are all the expressions of the belief and devotion of free and independent Irishmen. From foundation to spire-top they are in the fullest, completest, and most absolute sense, symbolical of liberty, piety, and Home Rule.

On the 24th July, 1904, a new Roman Catholic Cathedral was consecrated at Armagh. A special Envoy from Rome (Cardinal Vanutelli) took part in the ceremony. The Rev. Dr. Loughran, one of the Armagh R.C. clergy, has written a laudatory poem commemorating the historic event. The poem is vigorously political and controversial in its tone. The "penal laws," the "death and torture" and "fire and sword" which sadly mark the course of Irish history are dealt with. The writer's Irish political opponents are branded as "zealots," "wicked men," "men Judas-like," "bigots," "godless bigots," in defiance of whom

"Till the last disgraceful statute
Be deleted we'll not rest."

But the assemblage contained some distinguished

thirsty" invaders, with the active and continuous and powerful aid of one who is supposed to be always infallibly right, but who, according to Sullivan, was always infallibly wrong !

visitors, such as the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Louth, to whom a warm welcome is extended.

“To our own and foreign nobles
We a hearty welcome give,
At their head the Duke of Norfolk;
Long may our nobles live.”

Now, the Duke of Norfolk is the Premier Duke and Hereditary Earl-Marshal of England, and his family has been identified with his country's policy in Ireland during seven hundred years. The present Duke himself is an ardent Conservative, a supporter of the Primrose League, and a powerful hindrance to the removal of “the last disgraceful statute.” To as great a degree as any man in England the Premier Duke and Hereditary Earl-Marshal personifies the errors and excesses of English rule in Ireland. But the whole phalanx of the House of Lords might tread on the necks of the Irish people, fortified by the benedictions of the Papacy, provided they stepped down from the threshold of the Roman Cathedral at Armagh with “the Duke of Norfolk at their head!”

*No Irish need
apply.*

The history of the Archbishopric of Dublin is an object-lesson on the exclusion of the Irish from the Church ever since the Conquest. From 1171 down to the Reformation, in 1549, there were twenty-three Archbishops of Dublin. Of these not one was Irish. For the Archbishopric of Dublin “No Irish need apply!”*

Brenan endeavours to create in his reader's mind a favourable impression as to these Dublin Prelates, but he does so by means of a vague and general

* Stokes' Anglo-Norman Church, p. 205.

statement which it is impossible to analyse except in one particular.

His statement is that "Archbishop Comyn (of Dublin), the Prelates of Meath and Ossory and other English Ecclesiastics have, it is true, an undoubted claim on the gratitude of Irishmen."* The Meath and Ossory Prelates whom Brenan had in his mind he does not name, but Archbishop Comyn's history is very complete.† He was the first Norman Archbishop of Dublin, and the successor of St. Laurence O'Toole. He was only a Deacon when chosen by King Henry II. in 1181 for the Archbishopric. Previously he acted as an itinerant English Judge, and was a successful courtier. King Henry used him in his negotiations with the Pope against Thomas à Becket, who was afterwards slain at Canterbury Cathedral. He was ordained Priest at Velletri on the 13th March, 1182, and eight days later was consecrated Archbishop by Pope Lucius III. Like the Danish Bishops of Dublin, he disdained Irish or Celtic consecration. The Bishopric and Abbey of Glendalough, with its vast estates of 34,000 acres, he coveted and finally secured. In the course of time he attained to the position of a Baron, and established courts at St. Patrick's, Swords, Ballymore, Shankill, Castledermot, Clondalkin, Rathcool, and Castle Kevin. Each of these places was furnished with a gallows and gibbet. One John Brekedent was acquitted in the King's Court of a charge of murder, but went to live on the Archbishop's land at Rathcool, where he was re-arrested and condemned in the court at St. Patrick's, and hanged on the episcopal gallows at Harold's Cross !

* Vol. I., p. 423.

† Stokes' Anglo-Norman Church, p. 206.

This Archbishop raised St. Patrick's Parish Church to the dignity of a Collegiate Church, with thirteen Canons, thus laying the foundation of a National Cathedral. He built for himself, close to the Cathedral, a palace, which is now used as a Police Barrack. Previously he resided near Christ Church Cathedral, but was then within the city walls and under the jurisdiction of the Mayor.

His immediate successor, Henry of London, was appointed Dean of Penkridge, in Staffordshire, with the continuance of the dignity to the future Archbishops, on the express condition of their "not being Irishmen." This grant was witnessed by the Papal Legate. Thus early we find in the Church, and under the cognisance of the Papacy, the policy of "no Irish need apply."*

The third Archbishop (Luke the Norman) has a special interest for all who are promoting the re-forestation of Ireland. He denuded of their timber large tracts of the Glendalough See lands in order to meet the expenses of a law suit at the Papal Court.†

* A post-Reformation Archbishop, Dr. King, was not so partial to the English. "They thought in England," he wrote, "that anything would pass on us—I have sent back half a dozen worthless clergymen recommended to my provisions." It was this custom of filling the ministry of the Irish Church with Englishmen that caused the same Archbishop to complain thus:—" 'Tis a grief to me to consider that I have above forty curates in my diocese, most of them worthy men, and some that have served near twenty years, and I am not able to give or procure them a vicarage."

Archbishop King provided for the instruction in the Irish language of forty-five divinity students. All this brought upon him the displeasure of the old anti-Irish party which still continued to exist. When he lay on his deathbed the Primate of the time, a thorough-going Englishman, wrote thus to the Duke of Newcastle:—"All that I shall say now is that I think His Majesty's service absolutely requires that whenever he (the Archbishop) drops the place be filled with an Englishman!" —Olden, p. 383.

† See Calendar of Documents, 1171-1251.

The Statute of Kilkenny further enacted that no religious house shall receive an Irishman, under penalty of being attainted and having its temporalities seized. *Pardoned Priors.*

Many of the Irish Monasteries had been already seized and their control transferred to English Abbots and Priors. But here, as in every department of the Administration, a field for the exercise of favouritism was found. For the year 1385 the following grant is recorded:—

“William, Prior of the house of Blessed Mary of Louth, having diversely sustained immense expenses in the defence of the country adjoining to the said Priory, against the Irish,* and as his ancestors

* There is ample evidence that in those days, when there were no police, and soldiers could be badly spared, the outposts of the Pale were guarded chiefly by the Bishops and Monks, who were, in the strictest sense, the English garrison in Ireland.

By an Act of the Parliament at Drogheda in 1468 concerning one Robert FitzEustace, Constable of Ballymore Castle, who “did not make his residence there, but made a sub-constable, one Laurence O’Bogan, an Irishman both by father and mother, who by nature would discover the secrets of the English,” at the petition of Archbishop Tregury of Dublin, it was enacted “that the said Robert be compelled to keep a sufficient company of Englishmen, and no Irish to guard said castle, and if the said Robert put any Irishman, not having his charter of liberty, to ward the said castle, that then it shall be lawful for the said Archbishop, and his successors, to turn said Robert out of the said Constabulary, and to give the said office to any other for life or for years.”—Hardiman, p. 83.

This Parliament, which consisted largely of ecclesiastics—Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and Priors—did not hesitate to commit the protection of the Pale against the Irish to the Archbishops of Dublin *ex officio*. The Prior of Conall [Co. Kildare] who was a lord of Parliament, at the head of twenty men [it is not said whether they were lay or cleric] fought valiantly against two hundred Irish on the plain of Kildare [the Curragh], killed some and put the rest to flight, “and thus God assisteth those that put their trust in Him!”—(Henry of Marlboro quoted by Hardiman.)

Campion says that Lord Deputy Butler “tamed the O’Briens, Burkes, MacBanons, Manus MacMahon, and all the Captains of Thomond, and all in three months, the Clergy of Dublin twice every week in solemn procession praying for his good success against these disordered persons, which now in every quarter

were born amongst the English, and were faithful in their allegiance to the Crown, and many of his possessions had been destroyed and wasted by the Irish, he therefore obtained a grant of English livery or denization, to enjoy the use of English law and all free customs and liberties, as the English did in Ireland, together with *a pardon* for having been appointed Prior of said house without licence, he being an Irishman."

From another grant of the same year (1385) it would appear that the admission of an Irishman to English citizenship was supposed to gain Divine favour. King Richard did, "of his special grace, and *for the souls* of his grandfather, King Edward, and of his father, the Lord Edward, grant that the said Abbot [Richard of the Abbey of Knock, near Louth], should be of English state and condition, and free from all Irish servitude, and enjoy English law and liberties, with a pardon for acquiring the said Abbey without licence."*

*A clue to the
cause of Irish
ignorance.*

The disregard shown for Irish orders and seats of learning is seen most painfully on the case of Clonmacnois. A Papal Commissary in 1515 reports as follows: "The town of Clonmacnois is situated in the island of Ireland and province of Tuam, placed among woods towards the west, and consisting of scarcely twelve cabins, built of wicker

of Ireland had degenerated to their old trade of life and repined at the English." (History of Ireland, p. 97.) Some of the English too, he laments, who had become conversant "with the brutish sort of that people became degenerate in short space, and were quite altered into the worst rank of Irish rogues, such a force hath education to make or mar!" (*Ibid*, p. 14.) Henry of Marlboro states that Deputy Scroop, with the Prior of Kilmainham, and various other Captains, pursued the Irish "and did manfully put them to flight and slew O'Kerroll [O'Carroll] and eight hundred others." (*Ibid*, p. 217).

* Hardiman's Statutes of Kilkenny, p. 49.

work and mud, close to which, on the left hand, flows a river styled, in the language of the inhabitants, the Sinin (Shannon). On the right towards the east is a Cathedral Church almost ruined, unroofed, with one altar only, covered with straw, having a small sacristy, with one set of vestments only, and a brass crucifix. Here Mass is seldom celebrated. In it there is the body of an Irish Saint, *of whose name the witness is ignorant*, and to whom the Church is dedicated." "In this melancholy description," writes the Rev. Thomas Olden, "who would recognize the once famous establishment of St. Kieran? The ecclesiastic who makes the report is unable to give the Pope any information about one of the most celebrated of Irish Saints. He has never even heard his name. He seems to be giving an account of some unknown country, and it is quite evident that those who were now in authority in the Irish Church had no knowledge of its ancient history, and were, in fact, strangers in a strange land."*

Everything concerning the Irish Monks was despised. Their form of tonsure†—consisting of

* Church of Ireland, p. 287.

† Tonsure formed the subject of many controversies during the seventh and eighth centuries. In Spain the Celtic form was condemned at the fourth Council of Toledo A.D. 633. One of the Canons of the Anglo-Saxon Church, in union with the Roman, compiled about A.D. 700, is to this effect "That such as have received ordination from the Scots (*i.e.*, the Irish) or Britons, who, in the matter of Easter and the Tonsure, are not united to the Catholic Church, must again, by imposition of hands, be confirmed by a Catholic Bishop, etc." (King, p. 153.) Here we find the Celtic Church being denied the title Catholic just as, at the present time, it is denied to every branch of the Christian Church which is not in union with the Roman.

The Book of Common Prayer contains the Apostles' Creed, which asserts belief in "The Holy Catholic Church," and also the Nicene Creed, which asserts belief in "One Catholic and Apostolic Church," yet Sir Horace Plunkett describes those who use the Book as "Non-Catholic," which is equivalent to Non-Christian!

All Roman Catholics acknowledge "the Holy Catholic, Apostolic, Roman Church."

a crescent-shaped band over the head, from ear to ear—was sneered at as the tonsure of Simon Magus, the Sorcerer !* Any Englishman conforming to this custom was threatened by an Act of the great Council of 1295 with fine and imprisonment. (The Roman Tonsure consists in shaving the crown of the head).

*An Anglo-Roman
double-ditch.*

Section XXXI. provides for the enforcement of the Statute by the Sheriffs of Louth, Meath, Trim, Dublin, Kildare, Carlow, Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Tipperary, Connaught, Kerry, Cork, and Limerick.

It is probable that in some of these districts the Statute soon became a dead letter. During the following century the power of the English was reduced to a very narrow limit. At the Parliament of Drogheda in 1494, that is, ten years after the issue of Pope Innocent's Bull in aid of the Tribes of Galway, the following interesting Act was passed :—

“ That every inhabitant earth-tiller, and occupier in the said marches, *i.e.*, the county of Dublin, from the water of Anliffy [the River Liffey] to the mountain in Kildare, from the water of Anliffy to Trim, and so forth to Meath and Uriel [Louth], as said marches are made and limited by an Act of Parliament held by William, Bishop of Meath, do build and make a double-ditch, six feet high above the ground at one side, the part which meareth next unto Irishmen, betwixt this and next Lammas,” under a penalty of forty shillings.† That is, from Dalkey to Dundalk, *via* Naas and Kells, the residents within the Pale are to be sheltered from the armies of wild Irishmen by a *six foot double-ditch* ! Lest

* Stokes' Anglo-Norman Church, p. 352.

† Hardiman's Statute of Kilkenny, p. 4.

this brilliant "Plan of Campaign" should miscarry it was resolved that "the Archbishop of Dublin and the Sheriff of the County of Dublin, the Bishop of Kildare* and the Sheriff of Kildare, the Bishop of Meath and the Sheriff of the County of Meath, the Primate of Armagh and the Sheriff of the County of Uriel, be Commissioners within their respective Shires, with full power to call the inhabitants of said four Shires to make these ditches."

The Rev. M. J. Brennan, in his history, says, "this *Placing the sword upon the Altar.*"

* The mention of the "Bishop of Kildare" reminds us of a recent Bishop of that Diocese in the new line of succession, the Most Rev. Dr. Doyle, who has referred to the Protestant Church as "a Church which for three centuries has not ceased to persecute and malign" the Roman Catholics of Ireland. 'Tis amusing to witness the relish with which modern theologians of Dr. Doyle's school view the scenes of the charmed period of the last three hundred years. One might suggest that, for the sake of variety—to say nothing of truth—they should occasionally set the telescope of history with the big end turned the right way, and so embrace within the field of vision the scenes of the last seven centuries.

Lecky has some painful reading on this point. Dealing with the eighteenth century he states that "the law gave the Protestant the power of inflicting on the Catholic intolerable annoyance. All the influence of property and office were against him, and every tribunal to which he could appeal was occupied by his enemies. The Parliament and the Government, the Corporation which disposed of his city property, the Vestry which taxed him, the magistrate before whom he carried his complaint, the barrister who pleaded it, the judge who tried it, the jury who decided it, were all Protestants." (History of Ireland, Vol. I., p. 147.)

This statement, so far as it goes, is literally true, but it is only a half-truth, and, like most half-truths, conveys an impression which is mischievously false. The Irishman laboured under all these disabilities in the eighteenth century not because he was not a Protestant but because he was not a Loyalist. Protestants of the type of Robert Emmet and Lord Edward Fitzgerald would not, for a moment, be tolerated in any office of authority, nor would the disabling laws be permitted to remain twenty-four hours on the Statute-book to the exclusion from office of Roman Catholics of the type of Mr. Justice Keogh. Had Mr. Lecky been writing of Ireland two centuries earlier he could have added to the list of the Irishman's enemies "the ecclesiastic who controlled his admission to heaven." But this important piece of information is, unintentionally, not supplied to the reader. Hence the false impression.

infamous Statute . . . was much the same as placing the sword of persecution upon the very Altar." But one fact of peculiar interest is, by this and most writers, omitted, and its omission has had a most painful and mischievous effect upon the relations of Irishmen. The fact to which I refer is that this "sword of persecution" was laid upon the Altar by the authority of the Bishop of Rome himself. "And we,

Thomas, Archbishop of Dublin ;

Thomas, Archbishop of Cashel ;

John, Archbishop of Tuam ;

Thomas, Bishop of Lismore and Waterford ;

Thomas, Bishop of Killaloe ;

William, Bishop of Ossory ;

John, Bishop of Leighlin ;

John, Bishop of Cloyne ;

being present in the same Parliament, at the request of our said most worthy lord the Duke of Clarence, Lieutenant of our lord the King in Ireland, and the lords and commons aforesaid, against those contravening the statutes and ordinances aforesaid, passing over the time preceding, *do fulminate sentence of excommunication and do excommunicate them by this present writing,** we, and each of us, reserving absolution for ourselves and for our subjects should we be in the peril of death."

* In the light of this and the many other Papal anathemas against the Irish, both before and afterwards, there is not, perhaps, a more audacious assertion on record than that made by Pope Gregory XIII. in a Bull issued in the year 1577 exhorting the Irish to rebel against Queen Elizabeth, in which he states "the nation of the Irish is one which this Apostolic See *hath ever embraced with singular love and peculiar affection!!*" (King, p. 1262.) To all who obeyed this exhortation a reward was granted of "a plenary indulgence and remission of all their sins in the same form as is commonly granted to those who set out for the wars against the Turks and for the recovery of the Holy Land." Cardinal Vanutelli, addressing the people of Killarney on his visit in August, 1905, said, "Yes, the Holy See has always had a special love and a special care for you !"

These excommunicating Prelates all owed their promotion to the Pope,* and some of them were consecrated at Avignon, where the Pope was then residing.

* Dr. O'Connor's chief contention was for the independence of his Church in the nomination of her Bishops. "I will challenge any man," he writes, "to show that the Pope's supremacy consists in nominating Irish Bishops, or that the Pope ever nominated Irish Bishops before the twelfth century. It is an unquestionable fact that the Irish always elected their own Bishops, with the consent of their Kings, until the arrival of Cardinal Paparo in 1151." "In no case whatever could a Bishop be obtruded on the clergy of any Diocese if they were unwilling to receive him."—(Columbanus, pp. 71, 79.)

The Roman Catholic Church in Ireland has not a shred of liberty owing to the absolute control which the Roman Court possesses over the Episcopate. When a See is vacant the clergy of the Diocese are permitted, *as a favour*, to submit three names to the Papacy for the final choice, but none of these may be accepted. Archbishop Healy of Tuam, who was second on the list, was promoted from the Bishopric of Clonfert in opposition to the majority of the Tuam clergy. The late Cardinal Cullen was appointed by the Pope to the Archbishopric of Armagh, the list sent from the clergy of the Diocese being entirely set aside. Dr. Cullen was, at the time of his selection, rector of the Irish College at Rome, and thus possessed the favour of the Roman Court to the exclusion of the three Irish nominees.

Another interesting translation from Clonfert to Tuam was made in 1394, when Pope Boniface IX. translated William O'Cormacain against his will from the Archbishopric of Tuam to the Bishopric of Clonfert, which the Archbishop took greatly to heart. He moved so slowly that he was deprived and soon afterwards died. The Bishop of Clonfert was promoted to Tuam.

Episcopal independence was further curtailed by the rule that Church dignitaries were not allowed to choose their own Confessors without the approval of the Papacy. In 1329 the Penitentiary-General commissioned the Dean of St. Patrick's, at the request of the Archbishop of Dublin, to hear the Archbishop's confession, and to remit all the sins which might be confessed by him except contempt of Papal authority.—(Mant., p. 13.)

On the other hand there were attempts made to break away from Papal control during the middle ages. 32 Henry VI., c. 1, A.D. 1454, and 10 Henry VII., c. 5, A.D. 1495, were to this effect. In the English Parliament also there were like enactments previous to the Reformation. Bishop Mandell Creighton says "We speak loosely of the Reformation as though it were a definite event. We ought rather to regard the fall of the Papal Autocracy as the result of a number of political causes which had slowly gathered strength."—History of the Papacy, Vol. I., p. 33.

The Statute depended wholly for its successful administration on the vigilance and loyalty of the Bishops. There is no evidence that at the time these officials were unwilling to discharge the duties entrusted to them.

*The
Garrison.*

Nine years later an event occurred which shows the spirit in which the Church acted towards the Irish. Edward III., another great monarch, summoned an Irish Parliament in 1376 to provide for the expenses of the Government of Ireland, and to aid also in the foreign wars. Nicholas Dagworth was sent over to press upon the assembly his master's views. But the answer was a refusal to grant supplies on the ground of the poverty of the realm. Edward, impatient of such disregard for his wishes and necessities, summoned representatives to repair to England and consult with him and his Council. The Bishops were commanded, under penalty of £100, to choose two clergymen from each Diocese, and the laity a like number from their own ranks for each county and city and borough. The replies of some of the Bishops are on record. "We are not bound," says the Primate, "agreeably to the liberties, privileges, rights, laws, and customs of the Church and land of Ireland to elect any of our clergy and to send them to any part of England for the purpose of holding Parliaments or Councils in England. Yet on account of our reverence to our lord the King of England, and the now imminent necessity of the land aforesaid, saving to us and to the lords and commons of the said land all rights, privileges, liberties, laws, and customs before-mentioned; we have elected representatives to repair to the King in England and to treat and consult with him and his Council. Except, however,

that we do by no means grant to our said representatives any power of assenting to any burdens or subsidies to be imposed on us or our clergy, to which we cannot yield by reason of our poverty and daily expense *in finding light armed horsemen and infantry as well as in other expenses . . . on the wars and resistance of the enemies of our lord the King and ours.*"

The Bishop of Derry also was "not willing by any means to grant power to burthen the clergy with any farther burthens or subsidies than they are already burthened with, on account of the war of the enemies and rebels of our lord the King and his faithful people from day to day in our said Diocese of Derry."

The Bishop of Leighlin stated that his clergy unanimously alleged that they could not bear any further charges owing to "the destructions, robberies, burnings, and depredations of our Irish enemies daily perpetrated hitherto."* The Bishop of Lismore replied to the same effect. The Archbishops of Armagh and Cashel, as well as the Bishops of Meath, Ossory, Ferns, Limerick, Cork, Cloyne, and Kerry, all sent representatives, but stipulated for the safety of "the free usages of the Church and the land of Ireland."†

In the course of time the Prelates began to exercise *A dilemma.* an independent judgment on the merits and demerits of the cases brought to their notice. Personal friendship must also, to some extent, have caused

* If the clergy of Leighlin *unanimously* lamented the depredations of their Irish enemies the question arises, "who were the clergy who ministered to these Irish?" The fact is, that the disloyal Irish were outlaws in the eyes both of the Church and State.

† Leland, Vol. I., p. 373, *et seq.*

them to hesitate in pronouncing their awful imprecations. Hence it came about that exactly one hundred years after the passing of the Statute of Kilkenny, that is, in 1467, at a Parliament held in Dublin, it was ordained as follows: "That all Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland shall, upon the monition of forty days, proceed to the excommunication of all disobedient subjects, and if such Archbishop or bishop be negligent or remiss in doing their duties in the premises they shall forfeit one hundred pounds."*

While the Pope and the King were united ecclesiastical resistance was little heard of. But when, at a later period, King Henry VIII. broke with the Papacy the clergy found themselves in a sad plight. A case in point is that of Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, who, with others, was excommunicated in 1530 by what Moore calls "a most vengeful and tremendous form," of which the following is a clause: "That God Almighty may rain upon them the flames of fire and sulphur to their eternal vengeance; and that they may clothe themselves with the malediction and high curse as they daily clothe themselves with their garments."† Hardiman, referring to this, says that "some of the clergy concerned in that affair afterwards lived long enough in persecution and exile to reflect on the terrible imprecations which they so liberally poured forth on that misguided youth."

*A lesson in
Empire-
building.*

The object which the framers of this Statute intended to gain was to perpetuate the barrier of

* This is part of the Act referred to on p. 35 by which the King based his title to Ireland on the gift of the Papacy. The argument is that since the Pope gave him the land the Church should obey him.

† King, p. 1428.

race between the two peoples. Because, as Olden states, "the sympathetic and emotional nature of the Irish has always exercised an attractive influence on the undemonstrative English. Intermingled with the natives they, of necessity, became acquainted with their language, habits, and laws, and their children, growing up amidst these surroundings, gradually became undistinguishable from the natives around."*

In blunders such as this, repeated through many centuries, England has, by a sad experience, gained a lesson in the art of Empire-building for which she owes to Ireland a debt that never has been, and never can be, estimated. "What would have become of the Empire," wrote Seneca, an ancient Roman philosopher, "had not a kindly providence mixed up together the victors and the vanquished." This beneficent operation of a kindly providence was to some extent effected in Ireland, but it was in the teeth of Papal Anathemas fulminated by the Hierarchy of the Irish Church.

It is said that during all these dark centuries *Dual control.* there were practically two Irelands and two Churches in Ireland. That there were two political Irelands cannot be doubted, but there is no evidence of the existence of two Churches, and it is difficult to imagine that the Papacy, at the period of its greatest power, would permit within its fold, in one small and weak country, two separate organizations governed by two bodies of Bishops, both of its own creation.

It is true that the great mass of the Irish laity were hostile to Anglo-Roman authority, and considerable numbers of the clergy also, especially in the earlier years, but the Episcopate was absolutely

* Church of Ireland, p. 275.

under the control of the Pope and the King, and, as a rule, was loyal to their united commands. Of the two authorities that of the Papacy was by far the greater. A few examples will show how the dual control was enforced.

In 1222 Donat, Archbishop of Cashel, interdicted the King's tenants and lands within his Diocese, which interdict, being without any reasonable cause, he was enjoined by the Pope to relax in fifteen days. In 1250 the Prelates of Irish birth resolved that no Englishman should be admitted as a canon in any of their Churches, in retaliation for a like decree against the admission of Irishmen to English benefices; but the Pope, Innocent IV., by a Bull dated September, 1250, ordered them to cease the practice within a month, to which they submitted.*

In 1258, when King Henry III. was at war with his barons, Pope Alexander IV. sent him what Bishop Mant calls "an insolent command to restore Abraham O'Connellan to the temporalities of the Archbishopric of Armagh," which had been granted to him by His Holiness "through the plenitude of his power," and to this command the necessitous King tamely submitted.

In 1316 a contest arose for the Archbishopric of Cashel, between John MacCarwill (? O'Carroll), Bishop of Cork, and Thomas O'Lonchy, Archdeacon of Cashel. King Edward II. wrote to the Pope begging His Holiness to appoint an Englishman, "not permitting, if it seemed good, that any Irishman by race, at least while these disturbances last, should be, under any circumstances, promoted, in our land aforesaid, to the Archiepiscopal or episcopal dignity, unless our royal assent shall have been obtained,

* King, p. 624.

as is meet, in the first instance.” The result was that, at the King’s request, William Fitzjohn was appointed.*

At a later period—1421—Archbishop O’Hedian, of Cashel, incurred displeasure by his sympathy with the Irish. The Bishop of Waterford and Lismore was instructed to bring against him charges of forging King’s letters and issuing illegal coinage. He appears to have retained the See till the year 1450.

On the dual authority of the King and Pope considerable light is shed by an Act of the Parliament held in Dublin in the year 1410 (just forty-three years after the Statute of Kilkenny was passed), an abridgment of which is given by Hardiman. *The Catholic Universities and Irishmen.*

The Parliament of 1410 was held under Sir Thomas Butler, Prior of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland, an Order which was under the direct jurisdiction of the Pope. Section I. follows the example of the Statute of Kilkenny, and opens with the declaration “that holy Church enjoy their liberties, &c., used since the conquest of this land.” The closing Section (XXIV.) is as follows: “That no Irishman adhering to the enemies shall be suffered to pass henceforth over the sea by colour of going to the schools of Oxford or Cambridge, or elsewhere. And if any be found going out of the land that every (one) shall lawfully arrest him, and bring him to the King’s jail, together with the goods upon him and found with him. And he that taketh him shall have half the goods, &c.”

The controlling power of the Pope was felt all through Ireland at this period.† The Registers of

* King, p. 647.

† In addition to the power exercised by the Spiritual Peers, the Irish clergy, as a body, through their Proctors, continued to exist

Papal documents make this quite plain. In June, 1410, a Papal mandate was issued for the appointment of Patrick, Dean of Ossory, to the Bishopric of Cork, with concurrent letters to the clergy of the City and Diocese of Cork, to the vassals of the Church, to the Archbishop of Cashel, and to King Henry IV. In the same year John Babyngle was made Archbishop of Tuam. The Abbot of Boyle was deprived. The Prior of St. John's, Rinndon, in the Diocese of Elphin, was promoted to the Benedictine Priory of St. Peter's, Athlone; and other ecclesiastical changes were made by the Pope in the Dioceses of Kilmore, Clonmacnois, Clonfert, Kilala, Limerick, and Cloyne. In the previous year (1409) Donald Macdonagh was made Dean of Elphin, and Canon Eugenius, of Raphoe, Dean of Derry.* Amid all this display of authority there was not a finger raised in behalf of the persecuted Irishman.

The desire for learning, which made Ireland so famous in centuries long gone by, was still a craving of the Irish mind, but the united forces of the

as "The Third Estate of the Realm" down to the time of King Henry VIII. As such they claimed the right to reject or approve of the Acts passed by the Lords and Commons. In the reign of Henry VIII. they rejected the bill for the suppression of the religious houses, whereon an Act was passed in the Irish Parliament (28 Henry VIII., c. 12, A.D. 1521) depriving them of that right. The English clergy possessed a similar privilege as regards the laws of their own country, but allowed it to fall into disuse a century earlier. The celebrated Statute *De Haeretico Comburendo* (concerning the burning of heretics) 2 Henry IV., c. 15, A.D. 1401, was enacted on the petition of the clergy alone, and is expressed as being made with the consent of the Lords, but without mention of the Commons. By this Act the Sheriff was commanded to publicly burn anyone declared by an ecclesiastical court to be guilty of heresy. (Hearn's Government of England, p. 434. Taswell-Langmead's English Constitutional History, p. 250). Such was the power of the clergy in England and Ireland when the Irish were excluded from Oxford and Cambridge.

* Ulster was the last Province to come under English and Roman power.

The Cathedral of Derry is dedicated to St. Columba. Professor Stokes says that "the Columban party in Ulster were the fiercest and

King and Pope (Henry IV., and John XXIII.) were arrayed against it. There was no Dublin University in those days. The only great seats of learning in the Kingdom were Oxford and Cambridge, and these the Irishman must not enter unless he first bows down to the image which the King and Pope have set up. Oxford and Cambridge were then Catholic and also Roman. There was no obnoxious "atmosphere" to distress the keenest scent for heresy. All the English Colleges were at that time free from such influences as, at the present day, are said to contaminate Trinity College, Dublin. * But "knowledge is power," and there were reasons

most persistent opponents of the Roman view about Easter and the orthodox form of tonsure."

In 1203 the Bishop of Sodor and Man built a Monastery in Iona in spite of the Columban monks, thus claiming a jurisdiction which did not previously exist. The monks appealed to Derry and Ulster for help, whereon the Bishop of Derry (Florence O'Carolan), Awley O'Freel, and many others passed over "and in accordance with the laws of the Church they pulled down the aforesaid monastery, and the aforesaid Awley was elected Abbot of Iona by the suffrages of the Galls and the Gaels." (Stokes' Anglo-Norman Church, p. 348.) The Kingdom of Ulster was the one part of Ireland which obstinately refused to submit to Henry II. The Ulstermen have ever been a stubborn generation. They were stubborn in their opposition to the Roman party. They were stubborn in their opposition to James II. They were stubborn as leaders of the Volunteer movement in 1782, and for a time as supporters of the rebellion in 1798. (*Ibid*, p. 235).

* A generous friend of learning (Sir John Nutting) has recently promised to endow scholarships in Trinity College, Dublin, for the benefit of his poorer fellow-countrymen. But no sooner had the proposal been formulated than a distinguished Roman Catholic Prelate, the Most Reverend Dr. Clancy, promptly stigmatised the College as the "Nutting Soup Kitchen" in order to create a prejudice against the institution where so many great men of the Bishop's own creed have laid the foundation of their fame, and helped to regain for their country the old repute for learning which the Bishop of Rome and his agents have made such strenuous efforts to destroy. In earlier times, when the Bishops of Elphin were under the control of the Papacy, they were not always averse to Irishmen "passing over the sea." "In or about 1262 Thomas MacFerrall, Bishop of Elphin, granted indulgences of fifty days to the Chapel of the Virgin Mary in the Temple of London, and forty days more to those who, out of a motive of devotion, should visit the tomb of Roger in St. Paul's in the same city."—Ware's Bishops, p. 630.

then, as there are now, why this dangerous weapon should not be intrusted to the will of a high-spirited Irishman.

Three years previously (1407) an Act was passed in the English Parliament "commanding all Irish people to depart the realm and go into Ireland before the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Lady *upon pain of death*,"* which Act was, according to Lord Coke, "absolutely *in terrorem* and utterly against law," that is, against Common, as distinguished from Statute law.

Probably the students of "the Schools of Oxford and Cambridge" were dispensed from this English Statute, which would explain the reference in the Irish Statute to certain of the Irish passing over the sea under the pretence that they were resorting to those schools.†

*An
"Excellent
Prelate."*

The histories of Archbishop Dowdall of Armagh, and Queen Mary, have an interest peculiar to themselves as regards the persecution of the Irish. Dowdall was a consistent believer in the Roman Catholic Creed, and as such was elevated to the Primacy by King Henry VIII. But on King Henry's death his son, Edward the VI., ascended the throne, when the work of the Reformation extended from the domain of politics into that of religion. The alterations in the creeds of the Church were displeasing to the Archbishop, who either resigned or was expelled. But on the accession of Queen Mary, two years later, he was restored to the Primacy, and took an active part in bringing

* Hearn's Government of England, p. 49.

† The banishment of the Jews—and indeed their treatment in general by the State—was not more cruel than that of the Irish, for it might be said of the former that they were hostile to the Church but no such charge could be made against the latter.

back the Roman usages. Brennan says, "the return of George Dowdall to the Archiepiscopal See of Armagh in 1553 gave reality to these expectations [for the restoration of order and morality]. No sooner had this excellent Prelate been replaced in this See than he commenced the real work of religious reform."* Part of this work of reform consisted in the expulsion of the Archbishop of Dublin, and the Bishops of Meath, Kildare, and Leighlin, who had been promoted by the reforming King, Edward VI. But another part of the real work of "this excellent Prelate," which is not referred to by Brennan, nor ever hinted at, was to continue, or rather to restore, the old system of excommunicating the "Wild Irish." In the Calendar of State Papers for 1558 there is the entry of a document from Deputy Sussex to the Queen, in which Archbishop Dowdall "desires licence to exercise and minister all kinds of ecclesiastical censures against the Wild Irish," with the reply, dated August, to "Sussex to suffer the Primate of Armagh to exercise and use all manner of ecclesiastical censures against the disordered Irishry."†

The treatment of the Irish by Queen Mary was in no respect an improvement, in the direction of leniency, on that of her predecessors, yet modern writers, like Dr. Doyle, revel in reminiscences of Queen Elizabeth and the Protestant Governors of the last three hundred years.‡

* Vol. II., p. 103.

† State Papers, 1558, p. 148.

‡ The cry of "Ireland for the Irish" is often used in the sense of "Ireland for the Roman Catholics." A Cardinal once said to Mr. Froude, the historian, that "Irish Nationality is the Catholic Religion." Most of the "tribes" of Galway come within this definition, in spite of their past history, while the Protestant Bishop—the Right Rev. James O'Sullivan, D.D.—is excluded, not because he is not a Celtic

It was Queen Mary's deputy who burned the See of Armagh and three other Churches in his pursuit of the Irishry.* This was as bad as anything Oliver Cromwell did as regards places of worship.

The cruelties of Queen Mary towards the O'Moores, O'Connors, and Dempseys of the King's and Queen's Counties equal any of the kind in the whole history of the land, but the popular historians glide over them in silence. The 3rd and 4th Philip and Mary enacted that "where the countries of Leix, Slewmarge, Offalie, Irrie, and Glenmalire, which of right belong to the King and Queen's most excellent

Catholic but because he is not a Roman Catholic. In Waterford the leading Nationalists are the Powers, whose Norman ancestors, the Le Poers, drove the O'Flanagans from their homes. Yet the Cardinal would tolerate these intruders and leave no place for the Protestant Bishop O'Hara, whose Celtic ancestry dates back to the days of paganism. Happily Mr. Davitt (whose sincerity is beyond question) and, it may be, a great many others of his school, do not accept the Cardinal's definition of "Irish Nationality." Writing in 1885, Mr. Davitt said of Protestants—"They are Irishmen, and it is as Irishmen and *not as Catholics* that Irish Nationalists are striving for the self-government of their country. Without the influence arising from the sacrifices and the teachings of Irish Protestants like Tone, Fitzgerald, Emmet, the Sheares, Flood, Grattan, Curran, Mitchell, Martin, and others, the Irish National cause would not possess the vitality which it has to-day. The canonised political saints of Ireland's struggle for nationhood during the last one hundred years are chiefly Protestants, and any Irish Parliament which would dare to deny to a countryman of Robert Emmet's faith the same religious, social, and political rights which might be won for all the Irish people would be repudiated by the mass of the Catholics of Ireland."—Leaves from A Prison Diary, p. 237.

To the above list may be added, in the same connection, the names of Edmund Burke, Smith-O'Brien, Napper-Tandy, Thomas Davis, Isaac Butt, C. S. Parnell.

In the Clerical Directory for 1905 the following names of clergymen working at home and in the Colonies are indexed under the letter O:—O'Brien, O'Callaghan, O'Clery, O'Connell, O'Connor, O'Donoghue, O'Donovan, O'Ferrall, O'Flaherty, O'Flynn, O'Grady, O'Halloran, O'Hara, O'Kane, O'Keefe, O'Leary, O'Loughlin, O'Malley, O'Meara, O'Morchoe, O'Neill, O'Reilly, O'Rorke, O'Shea, O'Sullivan. "May not the *Parsons* be Irishmen too?"

The truth is that the welfare of English Roman Catholics is now, as of old, dearer to the heart of the Papacy than that of "Irish Nationality."

* State Papers, 1557, p. 140.

Majesties, were of late wholly possessed by the Moores, the Connors, the Dempseys, and other rebels, and now by the industrious travail of the Earl of Sussex, now Lord Deputy of Ireland, be brought again to be in the possession of their Majesties and so remain to be disposed of as their highnesses shall be thought good, forasmuch as the well-disposing of the said countries and *planting* of good men there" shall be a source of strength to the surrounding English and of terror to the Irish, therefore Sussex has power to grant these lands to Englishmen, or such of the Irish as will conform to the rules as to language, marriage, &c.* The territory seized was formed into two counties to be known as the King's and Queen's Counties, in memory of Philip and Mary, and the towns of Leix and Offaly to be called henceforth Philipstown and Maryborough.†

But the O'Moores, O'Connors, &c., were not quite overcome, and the settlers had to fight for their lands. The warfare which followed and continued in Elizabeth's reign resembled that waged by the early settlers in America with the native tribes. No torture or indignity was spared and no quarter shown to the Irish, till they finally disappeared into the woods and mountains. Such was the legacy which Queen Mary left in Ireland to her sister, Queen Elizabeth.

* A church was to be built in every town within three years, in which, needless to say, there would be neither Irish Pastor nor Irish Language. It was ordered that the "Freeholders shall cause their children to learn to speak English," and "None of them shall marry nor foster with any but such as be of English blood, without licence of the Deputy under his handwriting upon pain of forfeiture of his estate." —State Papers, 1556, p. 134.

† A movement has of late been set on foot for the re-naming of streets in honour of prominent Irishmen. Should the movement be permitted to develop it will, without doubt, extend to whole towns, and then to counties, when the names of Philipstown and Maryborough, King's County and Queen's County, shall disappear from our maps.

In the Statute just given, 3rd and 4th Philip and Mary, there is the following clause: "Provided also that this Act, nor anything therein contained, doth not extend to the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishop of Kildare, the Bishop of Leighlin, or any other ecclesiastical person." These were the Prelates whose Sees extended into the territories of the O'Moores, O'Connors, and O'Dempseys. Needless to say, they were protected against loss. The Act was passed "at the humble request of the Lords, Spiritual and Temporal," and there is no record of an ecclesiastical or other protest against its provisions.

A. M. Sullivan, in his "Story of Ireland," states that "in Mary's reign, indeed, incidents more than once occurred to show that, though, of course, bent on completing the conquest and annexation of Ireland, she was a stranger to the savage and cruel passions that ruled her father, and that were so fearfully inherited by his daughter, Elizabeth."

The truth is that the sacrileges of Queen Mary's deputy, the Anathemas of her Bishops, and, what is more remarkable, the novelty and callousness of her confiscations and plantations, have not since been surpassed.

Darkness.

During the whole period of four centuries there was a complete absence of progress as regards the spirit of the English and Roman rulers towards the Irish. It is hard to understand how any Irish Roman Catholic can believe that if the English Sovereign had never become a so-called heretic the forces of the Papacy would ever have turned against the King and in favour of the Irish. The benedictions which were formerly showered on the heads of English Kings, even though, as in one case, their

hands were still red with the blood of the Saints of the Church, can, since the defection of these Kings, be spared for Ireland. But would any Irishman have the hardihood to say that if King Edward VII. were to become a Roman Catholic (which heaven forbid), and to go hand in hand with the Papacy in the prosecution of their Imperial and world-wide projects, that the Pope would oppose the King in any tyrannies he might be disposed to inflict upon Ireland which did not run counter to the interests of the Roman Catholic Church. Would the Pope risk the friendship of the ruler of a great Empire for the sake of what Italians regard as "a mere eruption on the chin of the world?"*

The centuries of oppressive treatment which Ireland received while the whole kingdom was under the "shelter of the wings of Rome" amply explains the animosity which rankles in the Irish heart towards England and everything English. The whole story of that almost forgotten period is a series of murders, cursings, tyrannies, betrayals, rapacity, hypocrisy and poverty, which scarcely finds a parallel in the range of history. The conduct of our rulers during the last three hundred years is wholly indefensible, but, in justice to them, it should be borne in mind that it was before their time the Irishman learned, from bitter experience, to say—

"With one of the English race no friendship make,
Should'st thou, destruction will thee o'ertake;
He'll lie in wait to ruin thee when he can,
Such is the friendship of an Englishman."

* The late Professor Stokes ventured to say that an English Peer is a more welcome visitor at the Vatican than an Irish Roman Catholic Bishop.

*A shadow
from the
Continent.*

In judging of the penal enactments which were introduced since the reign of King James II., no person with a sense of fairness can refuse to make allowance for the feelings of distrust and dread which were naturally experienced owing to the persecution on the Continent at that time of all who opposed in any way the Church of Rome. On this painful subject I shall make only one reference: "Upon the 16th February, 1568, a sentence of the Holy Office condemned all the inhabitants of the Netherlands to death as heretics. From this universal doom only a few persons, especially named, were exempted. A Proclamation of the King (Philip) dated ten days later confirmed this decree of the Inquisition, and ordered it to be carried into instant execution without regard to age, sex or condition. This is, probably, the most concise death-warrant ever framed. Three millions of people—men, women, and children—were sentenced to the scaffold in three lines, and, as it is well-known that these were not harmless thunders, like some Bulls of the Vatican, but serious and practical measures which were to be enforced, the horror which they produced may easily be imagined. It was hardly the purpose of the Government to compel the absolute completion of the wholesale plan in all its length and breadth, yet in the horrible times upon which they had fallen the Netherlands might be excused for believing that no measure was too monstrous to be fulfilled. At any rate it was certain that when *all* were condemned *any* might, at a moment's warning, be carried to the scaffold, and this was precisely the course adopted by the Authorities."*

Commenting on the general attitude of the Papacy

* Motley's Rise of Dutch Republic, Vol. II., p. 137.

towards all who opposed it on the Continent, Olden remarks that "the Refugees who made their escape from France and found a home in England and Ireland brought with them a deadly hatred of the religious system to which they owed all their troubles, and diffused it throughout both countries. Parliament gave expression to the general sentiment of pity and horror at such cruelty by visiting the adherents of the Roman Catholic religion with penalties of the most minute and vexatious character."*

In proportion as Irish Roman Catholics have proved, through the advance of time, that they had no sympathy with the cruelties of their Church on the Continent their emancipation from vexatious penalties has made progress.† The spirit of religious persecution may now be regarded as almost dead so far as the great majority of the Irish laity are concerned, although an occasional eruption, giving evidence that the fire is still smouldering in the minds of many of the clergy, and a section

* The Church of Ireland, p. 373.

† Bishop Clancy, in a panegyric on St. Dominic, delivered in Dublin on the 5th August, 1905, denied that the Spanish Inquisition, as such, inflicted any punishments, and asserted that its character for cruelty is due to "the virus of Protestant prejudice." The Bishop made no attempt to explain the decree, on this subject, of the 4th Lateran Council, nor the Bulls of Popes Innocent IV. or Innocent VIII. (the friend and guardian of the Galway Tribes), who, in 1486, confirmed the notorious Torquemada in the office of Inquisitor-General for Castile. But the Bishop re-asserts the principle "that heresy may become dangerous to the public weal and, *as such, may be punished by the State*. Indeed the proposition is defensible—that toleration of error, where error can be prevented, is intrinsically wrong." Of course the Bishop means "by error" that which is such from the Roman standpoint. In this view there is none more virulent than Protestantism. Would Irish Roman Catholics, if they ruled the State, tolerate Protestantism? If so, then, according to the up-to-date pronouncement of their Church, their action would be "intrinsically wrong!" The Bishop's statement is in direct conflict with that of Mr. Davitt on page 78. The one represents the unchanging and stentorian voice of Rome. The other, though uttered without a tinge of fear, represents the timid whisper of the "mere Irish." Which of these voices speaks the heart—the conscience—of Ireland? Ireland's peace—her prosperity—aye! her glory—awaits the answer.

of the laity also, is painfully visible from time to time.

It cannot be forgotten that Roman Catholic Bishops, as a body, are intolerant of all who reject their authority, and, furthermore, that although the Irish people are, by nature, brave and generous and lovers of freedom—as the hottest Orangeman will admit—yet they are, as the Jesuit Campion knew so well, “ready to believe whatsoever is, with any countenance of gravity, affirmed by their superiors.”

To say that the party strife and bitterness, which are so destructive of happiness and prosperity in Ireland, are due to political considerations, is the merest fiction. No sensible person would object to a wise and just law, well and fairly administered, on the sole ground that it was made in Dublin instead of Westminster. The records of from 1782 to 1800 A.D. are ample proof that Home Rule* is not, in principle, hostile to the religion of Protestants.

* In 1493, as the result of an inquiry made by King Henry VII. of the Archbishop of Dublin (Fitzsimons), Sir E. Poynings was made Governor of Ireland, with the Bishop of Bangor as his Lord Chancellor. Poynings held a Parliament at Drogheda in 1495, where the Statute of Kilkenny was confirmed (except the section prohibiting the Irish language—which it was found impossible to suppress—and that prescribing the use of saddles in riding), and where the well-known Act was passed forbidding the Irish Parliament to make any laws in future unless the sanction of the King and his Council in England were first obtained. This was the first step towards the abolition of the Irish Parliament. On the resignation of Poynings, the Bishop of Bangor was appointed Governor in his stead. During this Bishop's rule Pope Alexander VI., at request of the King, addressed a commission to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of London, Durham, Bath, and Wells, “empowering them,” according to Leland, “to appoint such prelates of Ireland as they should choose; to convene the clergy and laity of this land; to enquire into the disorders particularly subsisting in the remoter and less populous parts of this country; to apply effectual remedies to those both of the clergy and people; and to execute all ecclesiastical censures on the refractory and rebellious, for the effectual restoration of order and tranquility” (Vol. II., p. 115). It thus appears that the Papal party was, to use Dr. Lanigan's words, “concerned in hatching a plot” against the Irish Parliaments, as well as, at an earlier period, against the Irish Crown.

It is a pity that Irish Roman Catholics do not consider whether or not it is right to perpetuate the deplorable bitterness of the past seven hundred years merely to gratify the ambition of foreigners whose friendship is of doubtful value. For, indeed, it is impossible to rise from the dismal study of the government of Ireland without realizing the admirable concentration of historical truth contained in the utterance of a distinguished Irishman, made in view of an approaching Good Friday, namely, "Ireland's crucifixion between the tyrannies of London and Rome."

It is not here suggested that Irish Roman Catholics should change their creed. Distinguished adherents of that creed have given utterance to a spirit of toleration and independence which is all that could be desired. Moore, in his Memoirs of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, states that "among those traits of character which adorned him as a member of social life there is one which, on every account, is far too important not to be brought prominently forward in any professed picture of him, and this was *the strong and pure sense which he entertained of religion*. So much is it the custom of those who would bring discredit upon freedom of thought in politics to represent it as connected invariably with lax opinions upon religion that it is of no small importance to be able to refer to two such instances as Lord Edward Fitzgerald and the younger Emmet, in both of whom the freest range of what are called revolutionary principles was combined with *a warm and steady belief in the doctrines of Christianity*." It will be a happy day for Ireland when the majority of the Irish people shall have the courage to write and speak of persons holding Lord Edward Fitzgerald's

beliefs in such terms as those used by the National Poet. Then the Orangeman's "No Popery" cry shall cease, and there may be again a truly "United Ireland."

Independence. Dr. O'Connor displays a still more notable independence. "The Catholic religion," he writes, "existed in Ireland many centuries before any foreign influence in the nomination of our Bishops was heard of either by our Clergy or our Kings, and during that period it produced more Saints than it has since the twelfth century, when foreign influence first began to be used."*

Hope. The fame of that distant period has been the ray of hope that shone through the dark clouds of many centuries. Its brightness cannot be doubted. Even Froude had to admit that three centuries before the Conquest the religion of the Irish "had burnt like a star in Western Europe."† The same is true of their learning.

There is an old saying that "history repeats itself." What has been may be again. For the sorrows and sacrifices of the past Ireland may yet reap her reward. This hope still lives.

"Unchill'd by the rain, and unwaked by the wind,
The lily lies sleeping through winter's cold hour,
Till Spring's light touch her fetters unbind,
And daylight and liberty bless the young flower.
Thus Erin, O Erin; thy winter is past,
And the hope that lived through it shall blossom
at last."

MOORE.

* Columbanus, No. 2, p. x.

† The English in Ireland, Vol. I., p. 16.

TABLE OF DATES AND PRINCIPAL EVENTS.

- 1091.** Pope Urban II. claimed the ownership of all Christian Islands.
- 1148.** Malachy of Armagh, who introduced many Roman practices, died.
- 1152.** Cardinal Paparo, at the Synod of Kells, gave Palls to the four Archbishops, and probably established the law as to Tithes.
- 1154.** Adrian IV. ascended the Papal Throne.
- 1154.** Henry II. ascended the English Throne.
- 1155.** A Papal Bull, authorizing the Conquest of Ireland, despatched to King Henry by the hand of John of Salisbury.
- 1155.** Proposal to seize Ireland considered at the Parliament of Winchester.
- 1168.** Dermot MacMurrough sought King Henry's aid.
- 1171.** King Henry landed in Ireland.
- 1172.** The Synod of Cashel was held.
- 1175.** Pope Adrian's Bull, and another from his successor—Alexander III.—were read at the Synod of Waterford.
- 1186.** The Synod of Dublin was held under Archbishop Comyn. Stone Altars were ordered to be set up, and a weekly anathema pronounced against all who carried arms without licence.
- 1250.** Pope Innocent IV. issued a Bull forbidding the Bishops of Irish birth to exclude Englishmen from their churches and religious houses, in retaliation for similar treatment from the English.
- 1267.** Dublin placed under an interdict by Cardinal Octobon, Archbishop Saundford, and the Bishop of Lismore.
- 1278.** The Irish offered 8,000 marks for the protection of English law, which offer was defeated by the Prelates and Nobles.
- 1288.** Pope Nicholas IV. issued a Bull granting the Papal "Tenths" for twelve years to King Edward I.
- 1306.** Another tax levied by Pope Clement V. for the King and Queen and Prince of Wales.
- 1315.** The Irish invited Edward Bruce to become their King.
- 1318.** The Pope excommunicated the followers of Bruce. The Archbishop of Dublin, who was then Governor of Ireland, sent Sir J. Bermingham against Bruce. Primate Joyce of Armagh had prayers offered for the defeat of the Irish. Bruce was slain. His head was taken to England by Bermingham as a trophy. Bermingham received the Barony of Louth.

- 1367.** The Statute of Kilkenny was passed, and issued under the threat of excommunication fulminated by the Archbishops of Dublin, Tuam and Cashel, and the Bishops of Lismore, Killaloe, Ossory, Leighlin and Cloyne.
- 1376.** The Prelates refused to contribute towards the expenses of foreign wars, on the plea of expenses incurred against the Irish.
- 1385.** Parliament granted pardons to the Abbot of Knock and the Prior of the house of Blessed Mary in Louth, they being Irishmen.
- 1407.** The English Parliament ordered the banishment of Irish people from England.
- 1410.** The Irish Parliament prohibited any of the Irish not at peace from going to the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge.
- 1440.** A Conference held in the Friary at Trim was followed by an Act against the use, by the Irish, of any pastures within the Pale.
- 1467.** The Parliament of Dublin claimed the loyalty of the Irish on the ground that the Pope had rented Ireland to the King.
- 1468.** At the request of Archbishop Tregury of Dublin, FitzEustace of Ballymore was rebuked for leaving the castle at that place in charge of an Irishman.
- 1480.** The markets of the Irish towns of Cavan, Granard, and Longford were proscribed.
- 1484.** Pope Innocent VIII. issued a Bull setting up the English ritual, and a College of English clergy, in Galway, with a weighty threat against any who would withstand it.
- 1493.** Archbishop Fitzsimons of Dublin received permission, for two years, to present Irishmen to parishes amongst the Irish in his Diocese.
- 1494.** Parliament ordered a 6-foot double-ditch to be made against the Irish, extending from Dalkey to Dundalk, *via* Naas and Kells. The Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, and the Bishops of Meath and Kildare, with four Sheriffs, were entrusted with the work.
- 1495.** On the advice of Archbishop Fitzsimons of Dublin, Sir Edward Poynings and the Bishop of Bangor came to Ireland as Governor and Lord Chancellor, and had an Act passed which reduced the Irish Parliament to a state of subjection to the English Council, from which state it never recovered. The Bishop of Bangor succeeded Poynings as Governor. The Pope (Alexander VI.) appointed a commission, at the request

of King Henry VII., consisting of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of London, Durham, and Bath and Wells, to aid, by censures and otherwise, in bringing the disordered Irish into tranquility.

- 1515. Pope Leo. X. issued a Bull enforcing the law against the admission of Irishmen to any office in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.
- 1516. The Irish were prohibited from purchasing or hiring boats in Galway.
- 1522. Persons who could not speak the English language were excluded from the freedom of Galway.
- 1539. King Henry VIII. enacted the Six Articles, making it criminal to deny the Real Presence, the Eucharist under one kind, the celibacy of the clergy, the obligation of life-long vows, private Masses and Auricular Confession.
- 1549. King Edward VI. commenced the Reformation in doctrine, abolished the Six Articles, and issued the first Book of Common Prayer.
- 1551. Primate Dowdall resigned or was expelled.
- 1553. Queen Mary began her reign. Dowdall was restored and the Roman Creed brought back. Censures issued against the wild Irish. 3 and 4 Philip and Mary was passed, and the first Plantation of English in Ireland established.
- 1577. Pope Gregory XIII. exhorted the Irish to rebel against Queen Elizabeth, with the same reward as granted to those who made war on the Turks, and with the assurance that "the nation of the Irish is one which this Apostolic See hath ever embraced with singular love and peculiar affection."

**APPENDICES TAKEN FROM THE REV. ROBERT KING'S
"PRIMER OF THE HISTORY OF THE HOLY
CATHOLIC CHURCH IN IRELAND."**

A P P E N D I X A .

**BULL OF POPE ADRIAN IV. TO KING HENRY II. OF ENGLAND, GRANTING
HIM LIBERTY TO TAKE POSSESSION OF IRELAND.**

Adrian, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our well beloved son in Christ, the illustrious King of the English, health and apostolical benediction.

Your highness is contemplating the laudable and profitable work of gaining a glorious fame on earth, and augmenting the recompense of bliss that awaits you in heaven, by turning your thoughts, in the proper spirit of a Catholic Prince, to the object of widening the boundaries of the Church, explaining the true Christian faith to those ignorant and uncivilized tribes, and exterminating the nurseries of vices from the Lord's inheritance. In which matter, observing as we do the maturity of deliberation and the soundness of judgment exhibited in your mode of proceeding, we cannot but hope that proportionate success will, with the Divine permission, attend your exertions.

Certainly there is no doubt but that Ireland and all the Islands upon which Christ, the Son of Righteousness, hath shined, and which have received instruction in the Christian faith, do belong of right to St. Peter and the Holy Roman Church, as your grace also admits. For which reason we are the more disposed to introduce into them a faithful plantation, and to engraft among them a stock acceptable in the sight of God, in proportion as we are convinced from conscientious motives that such efforts are made incumbent on us by the urgent claims of duty.

You have signified to us, son, well-beloved in Christ, your desire to enter the island of Ireland in order to bring that people into subjection to laws, and to exterminate the nurseries of vices from the country ; and that you are willing to pay to St. Peter an annual tribute of one penny for every house there, and to preserve the ecclesiastical rights of that land uninjured and inviolate. We, therefore, meeting your pious and laudable desire with the favour which it deserves, and graciously according to your petition, express our will and pleasure that, in order to widen the bounds of the Church, to check the spread of vice, to reform the state of morals and promote the inculcation of virtuous dispositions, you shall enter that island and execute therein what shall be for the honour of God and the welfare of the country. And let the people of that land receive you in honourable style and respect you as their Lord. Provided always that ecclesiastical rights be uninjured and inviolate, and the annual payment of one penny for every house be secured for St. Peter and the Holy Roman Church.

If, then, you shall be minded to carry into execution the plan which you have devised in your mind, use your endeavour diligently to improve that nation by the inculcation of good morals ; and exert yourself, both personally and by means of such agents as you employ (whose faith, life and conversation you shall have found suitable for such an undertaking) that the Church may be adorned there, that the religious influence of the Christian faith may be planted and grow there ; and that all that pertains to the honour of God and the salvation of souls may, by you, be ordered in such a way as that you may be counted worthy to obtain from God a higher degree of recompense in eternity, and at the same time succeed in gaining upon earth a name of glory throughout all generations.

APPENDIX B.

BULL OF POPE ALEXANDER III. TO KING HENRY II. CONFIRMING THE PRECEDING (A.D. 1172).

Alexander, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our well beloved son in Christ, the illustrious King of the English, health and apostolical benediction.

Forasmuch as those grants of our predecessors which are known to have been made on reasonable grounds are worthy to be confirmed by permanent sanction. We, therefore, following in the footsteps of the late venerable Pope Adrian, and in expectation also of seeing the fruits of our own earnest wishes on this head, ratify and confirm the permission of the said Pope granted you in reference to the dominion of the Kingdom of Ireland (reserving to Blessed Peter and the Holy Roman Church as in England so also in Ireland the annual payment of one penny from each house) to the end that the filthy practices may be abolished, and the barbarous nation, which is called by the Christian name, may through your clemency attain unto some decency of manners ; and that when the Church of that country, which has been hitherto in a disordered state, shall have been reduced to better order, that people may, by your means, possess for the future the reality as well as the name of the Christian profession.

APPENDIX C.

LETTER OF POPE ALEXANDER III. TO KING HENRY II.

Alexander, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our well beloved son in Christ, Henry, the illustrious King of the English, greeting and apostolical benediction.

It is not without very lively sensations of satisfaction that we have learned, from the loud voice of public report, as well as from the authentic statements of particular individuals, of the expedition which

you have made in the true spirit of a pious King and magnificent prince against that nation of the Irish (who in utter disregard of the fear of God, are wandering with unbridled licentiousness into every downward course of crime, and who have cast away the restraints of the Christian religion and of morality, and are destroying one another with mutual slaughter), and of the magnificent and astonishing triumph which you have gained over a realm into which, as we are given to understand, the Princes of Rome, the triumphant conquerors of the world, never, in the days of their glory, pushed their arms, a success to be attributed to the ordering of the Lord, by whose guidance, as we undoubtedly do believe, your serene highness was led to direct the power of your arms against that uncivilized and lawless people.

For, not to refer at present to the other enormities and crimes in which this people, in their disregard for the restraint of the Christian religion, indulge themselves with abundant profanity, it appears from the statement of your venerable brethren, Christian, Bishop of Lesmor, Legate of the Apostolic See, and the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland in their letter to us, and also from the testimony of our beloved son, R., Archdeacon of Llandaff (a person of discretion and prudence, and one attached to your Majesty's Royal person by a bond of no ordinary devoteness), who was himself a trustworthy eye-witness of the facts, and reported them orally to us in a manner that showed at once his prudence and the interest he felt in them—that the people aforesaid (as your serene Majesty may possibly have learned more fully from other sources) are in the habit, etc. [here follows a detailed statement of immoralities], and they all universally eat flesh meat in Lent, and pay no tithes, and show none of that respect which they ought to entertain for God's holy Churches or for ecclesiastical persons.

But now that, in the mercy of God, His inspiration has roused your mind (as we learn from the communication of these same Archbishops and Bishops, and the more full and express tidings brought us by the Archdeacon aforesaid) to effect the subjugation of that people to your sovereignty, by a junction of your magnificent land and sea forces, and to exterminate from it such abominable filthiness as we have referred to; for this we entertain due feelings of joy and gratitude, and take occasion therefrom to render our devout thanksgivings unto Him from whom every good proceeds, and who orders the pious acts and wills of His faithful people according to His own good pleasure, for the furtherance of their salvation; beseeching the Almighty Lord in our votive prayers to grant, that, as by the influence of your Majesty, those practices so contrary to all law which have been prevalent in the land aforesaid are already beginning to decline, so also, by the Lord's assistance, the people aforesaid may, through your instrumentality, be led to forsake their lewd and sinful courses and adopt in its full integrity the discipline of the Christian religion, to the gaining for you of an unfading crown of everlasting glory, and to the promotion of the salvation of their souls.

We therefore desire your Royal Excellency—we admonish and exhort you in the Lord—and enjoin it upon you for the remission of your sins, that you strengthen and brace your mind to a higher degree

of energy in that undertaking wherein you have made so laudable a commencement ; and that you make use of your power to reduce that people to the observance of the Christian religion, and to retain them therein. That as you have spent your labour against them already with a view of obtaining, as we believe, the remission of your sins, so, for promoting their progress in the way of salvation you may be counted worthy to receive the crown everlasting.

And as your Highness's Excellency is aware that the Church of Rome has by right an authority over islands different from what she possesses over the mainland and continent, having therefore such a confident hope in the fervour of your devotion as to believe that it would be your desire, not only to conserve, but also to extend the privileges of the said Church and *to establish her jurisdiction*, as you are in duty bound, *where she has none at present*, we ask and earnestly exhort your highness to use your anxious diligence to preserve to us the privileges belonging to St. Peter in the land aforesaid. That so we may be in duty bound to render abundant thanks to your Royal eminence, and you may appear as presenting for an offering to God the first fruits of your glory and triumph.

Dated at Tusculum, September 20.

APPENDIX D.

LETTER OF POPE ALEXANDER III. TO THE BISHOPS OF IRELAND.

Alexander, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our venerable brethren, Christian, Bishop of Lismore, Legate of the Apostolical See, and Gelasius Armachan, Donogh Cashel, Launce Dublin, and Catholicus Trianen (Tuam), Archbishops, and their suffragans, greeting and apostolical benediction.

The sad extent of disorder and crime which stains the character of the Irish people, and the manner in which they have cast off the fear of God and the restraints of the Christian religion to follow courses fraught with perils to the souls of men, has been made very clear to us from the contents of your letter ; although indeed a pretty full account of the case was brought before the notice of the Apostolic See in the authentic statements of other parties also. Therefore it is that when we understood from your letter how those practices, so contrary to all law, which have prevailed in your country, are now beginning, with the Lord's assistance, to disappear under the influence of the power of our dearly beloved son in Christ the illustrious Henry, King of the English (who, pressed in his conscience by the voice of Divine inspiration, was led to effect, by a concentration of his forces, the subjugation to his own sovereignty of that savage and uncivilized people who know nothing of God's law). We rejoiced exceedingly, and rendered our boundless thanksgivings to Him who bestowed on the Prince aforesaid so grand a victory and triumph—making request withal in our humble supplications, that through the vigilant and anxious personal efforts of the monarch, aided by your hearty co-operation, that lawless and

unruly people may be brought to cherish a respect for the Divine law, and for the principles of the Christian religion, in all its parts and all its bearings on every circumstance of their lives ; and that you and other ecclesiastical persons may enjoy that honour and quietness of life to which you are properly entitled.

Seeing therefore that it behoves you to use your anxious diligence and friendly efforts in promoting an undertaking which has been commenced on such pious principles, we command and enjoin upon you, brethren, by this our Apostolic writ, that you do, to the utmost of your diligence and power (so far as may comport with your office and the privileges of your order) give your assistance to the Prince aforesaid (as being so magnificent a person and so truly devout a son of the Church) in maintaining and keeping possession of that land, and in extirpating from it such filthy abominations as are above referred to.

And if any of the Kings, Princes, or other persons of that country, shall attempt by rash adventure to contravene the obligation of his oath and fealty tendered to the King aforesaid, if, on your admonition, he shall not with due promptness return to a better mind, let him feel the stroke of your ecclesiastical censure, enforced by the weight of our Apostolical authority, no regard whatsoever being had to the occasion or excuse which may be assigned. That so you may carry into execution this, our mandate, in a diligent and effective manner ; and that, as the aforesaid King is stated to have exhibited a spirit of pious and benevolent obedience to our wishes in making you restitution of the tithes, as well as of your other ecclesiastical dues, and in attending to all matters pertaining to Church liberty, so you, on the other hand, may steadfastly maintain for him all privileges belonging to the Royal dignity, and exert yourselves as far as in you lies to have the like maintained by others.

Dated at Tusculum, September 20.

APPENDIX E:

LETTER OF POPE ALEXANDER III. TO THE NOBLES OF IRELAND.

Alexander, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our beloved children, the Noblemen, Kings, and Princes of Ireland, greeting and apostolical benediction.

When it became known to us from public report, as well as from unquestionable testimony of particular individuals, that you had received for your King and Lord our most dearly beloved son in Christ, Henry, the illustrious King of the English, and that you had sworn fealty to him, our feelings of heartfelt joy on the occasion were proportionate to the increase of tranquility and peace which is likely to result in your country from the power of the said King, the Lord assisting, and the prospect that the Irish people who, for this time past, were seeming to have gone far astray from God in the enormity and lewdness of their crimes, will now receive instruction likely to render them

more interested in Divine worship, and be better grounded in the discipline of the Christian religion.

But, however, as to your having voluntarily subjected yourselves to a monarch so magnificent and powerful, and one who is such a devout son of the Church, your prudence herein we must mark with its due commendation, inasmuch as it may be hoped that no inconsiderable advantages will thence result to yourselves, to the Church, and to the people of your country in general.

We therefore earnestly admonish and command your noble body to be careful to maintain firm and inviolate, in all due subjection, the fealty which you have promised with the solemn sanction of your oath to this mighty Prince. And show your obedience and attachment to him in such a spirit of gentleness and humility that you may be continually gaining increasing favour at his hands, and that we may feel ourselves in duty bound to express our commendation of your prudence as is meet.

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